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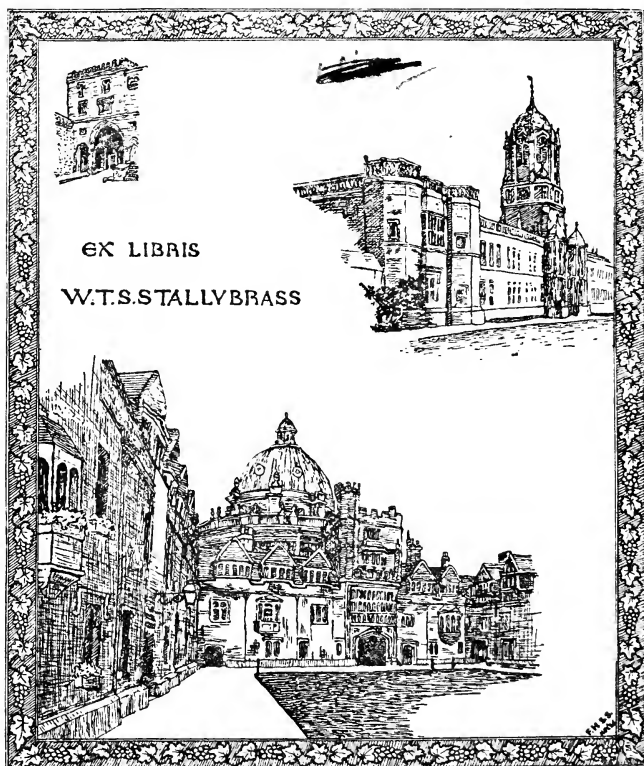
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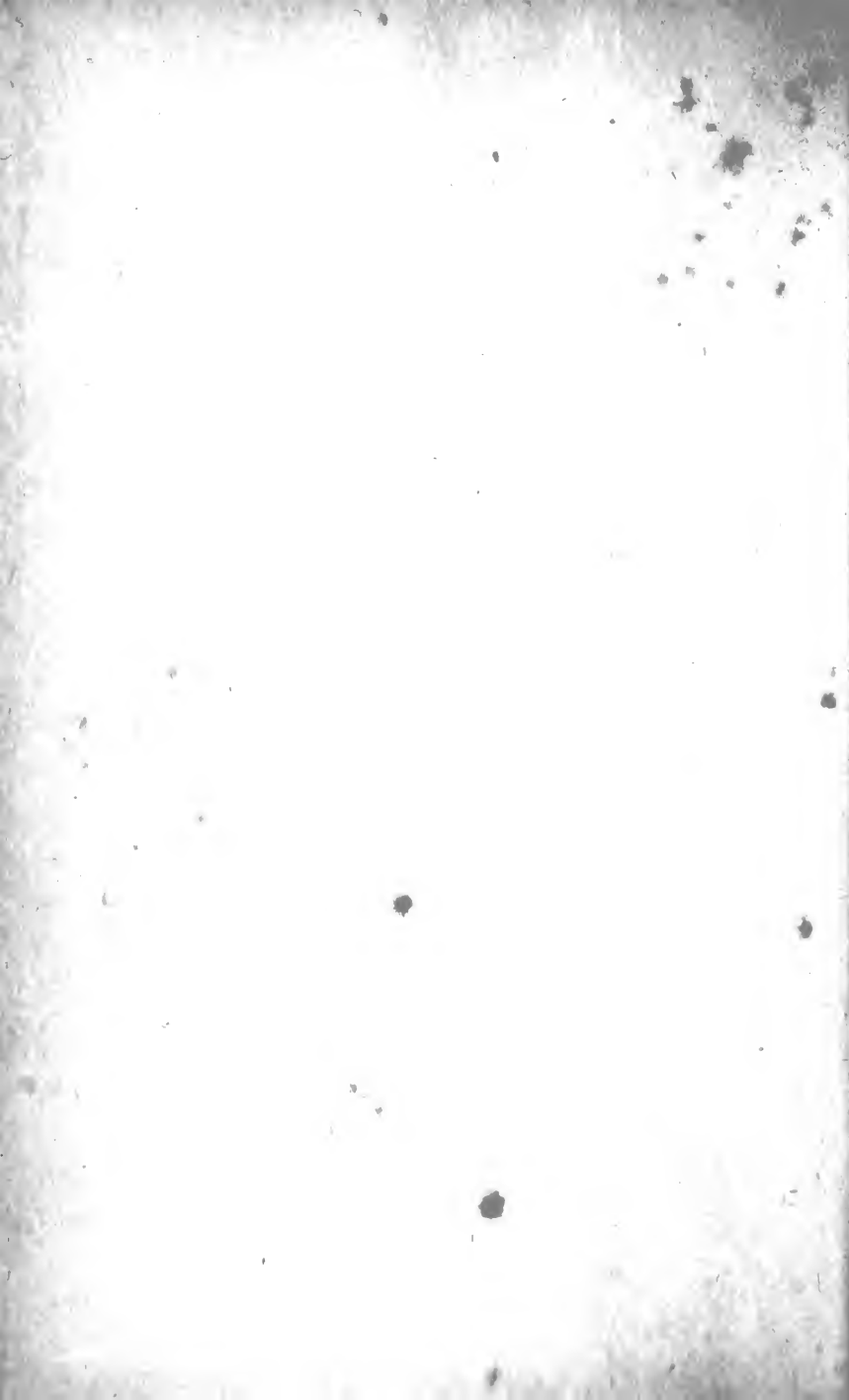
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University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

BRASENOSE COLLEGE

BY

JOHN BUCHAN

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

1898



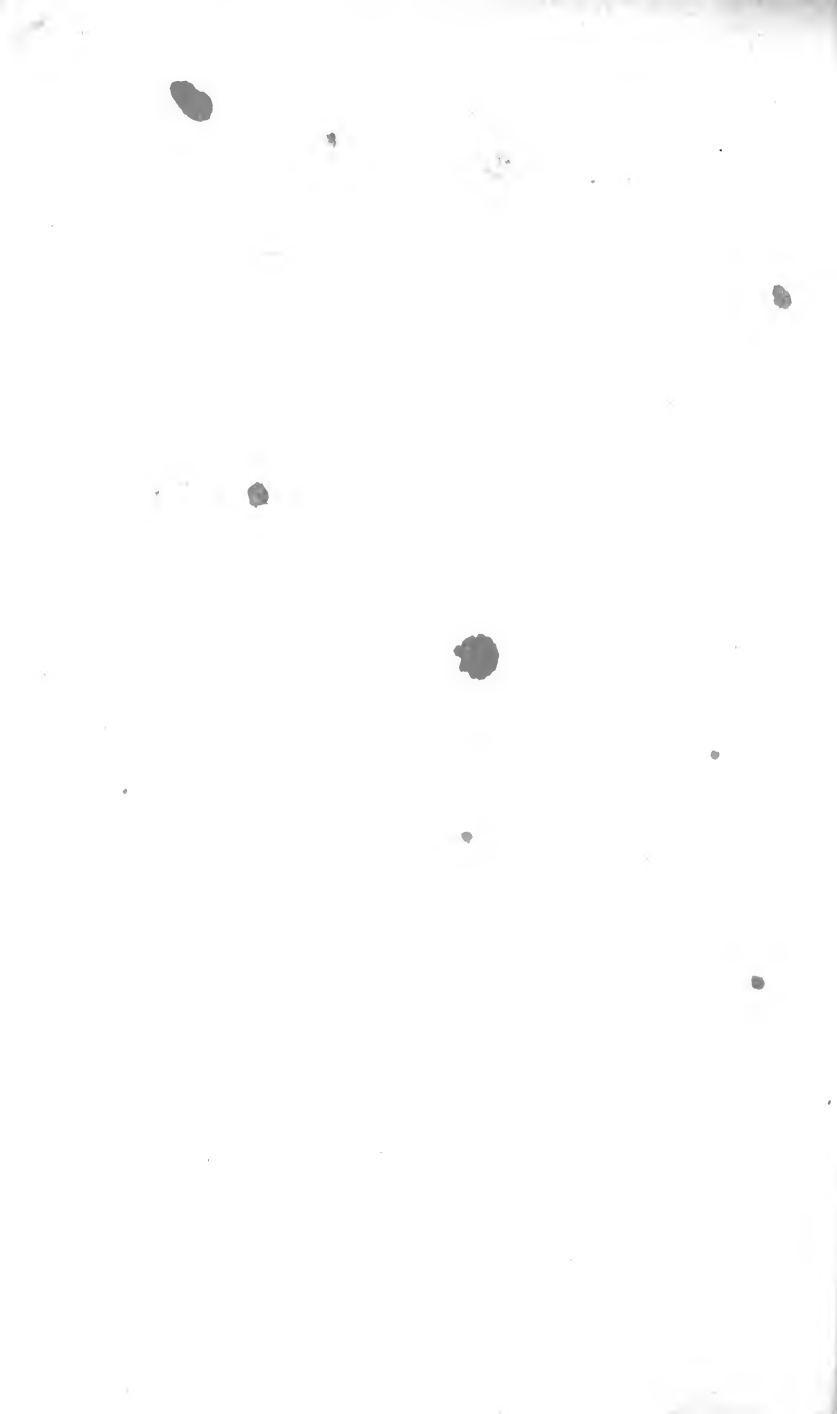
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TO
JOHN FOSTER CARR

*Then said Christian to the Porter, Sir
What house is this? and may I lodge here
to-night? The Porter answered, This
house was built for the relief and security
of pilgrims.—THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.*



PREFACE

I HAVE attempted to make this little book serve a double purpose—to present some sort of portrait of the vigorous college life of the past and to give such historical detail as may explain the place in guide-book fashion. The first two chapters give the bare detail of its history; the others deal more fully with less arid matters. Facts of purely antiquarian interest have been either omitted or left to an appendix. The book is in no sense a minute history; rather it is an attempt to cast a rather bald material into narrative form. Hence the author asks pardon for much that may seem superficial and trifling to graver eyes. The authorities used were the ordinary works on the general history of the University, and such manuscript sources of information as the Vice-Principals' Register and documents in possession of the College. I have to thank the Principal of Brasenose for kindly placing at my disposal certain notes and extracts which he had made on the subject, and I should also express my obligations to the best-informed sketch of the College history which I have met with, Mr. Madan's article in Mr. Clark's "Colleges of Oxford." To Mr. B. C. Boulter of Brasenose I am much indebted for the drawing of a view from an upper window in the Old Quadrangle.

J. B.

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CHAPTER I

THE KING'S HALL AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

At the corner of Brasenose Lane, across from the site of the great chestnut in Exeter Gardens, there stood in days prior to the sixteenth century a building called Little University Hall. The great Hall of that name, where William of Durham's scholars dwelt, lay south of the High Street, but this was a lesser place under the same Master and fellows. Bordering it on the south, and still flanking the narrow lane running from the High (which was then called Schools) Street, was Brasenose Hall—almost on the site of the present old gate of the college. South, again, stood two buildings belonging to Oriel, called respectively Salisbury Hall and St. Mary's Entry. Finally came two little halls, Little Edmund's and Haberdashers', and then the High Street. So much for the former occupants of the college site; but in early days the college property was not restricted to one side of the street. Across Schools Street, on the

site now occupied by the Radcliffe Library, lay Black Hall and Glass Hall, the property of the Canons of Oseney. Behind all the buildings on the western side of the street, from the High to Brasenose Lane, there seem to have stretched gardens of some magnitude. On these patches of land—representing to-day the site of the Radcliffe, the old and new quadrangles of Brasenose, and the small tenement to the west of St. Mary's Church—grew up the future college.

The owners of the quaintly named halls were generally larger academic or religious bodies. Little University belonged, of course, to University College; Salisbury and St. Mary's Entry to Oriel; the Abbey of Oseney seems to have possessed Haberdashers', Black Hall, Glass Hall, and St. Edmund's; while a small and obscure foundation, called Staple Hall, subsequently merged in the college, was the property of the monks of Eynsham. Brasenose Hall alone was an independent, self-maintaining community with a Master of its own. The ground thus occupied was in the very centre of the city, close to the great church of St. Mary, next door to the Schools, and abutting on the High Street. Travellers by the main road from London would pass by Haberdashers' Hall, and Schools Street was, in its way, the main channel of the academic life. If a position at the very centre of things be a virtue, it was one to which this medley of little halls attained.

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To trace the history of the life in the Halls* is to get some insight into the dim days before colleges and statutes, when the University was still a fluctuating body, a centre of gathering for the learned or would-be learned vagabondage of many countries. In those times a college education was far from being a badge of respectability. The eager student was only one remove from the beggar, and both were often first cousin to the knave. The Aula was a microcosm out of which all the stately forms of our modern institutions were developed. Vigorously democratic in nature, it kept much of this quality in forms and customs to later days. Its beginnings, so far as we can trace them, were rude and simple. A band of scholars—gathered no man knows where—would come to Oxford, hire a lodging, choose one of their number Principal, and your Hall was established. Its one connection with the greater University power was the surety given by the Principal to the Chancellor that the rent was not too great for the thin purses of his friends. In 1209 there was an ugly crime done by a scholar in Oxford, and we find him pursued and attacked “in his own hall, which he had founded with three other clerks, as Fellows.” It might be that the place grew and prospered. Freshmen straggling up from the country, whether their own

* For such information as exists on the subject of the early halls on the site of the College, see Appendix B

masters or under the care of a "brynger," would be waited on by touts from the Halls and the favour of the young gentleman's attendance requested. If the youth were of a good name, probably the Master would come in person and deprecatingly suggest that his lectures might be given at least a three-days' trial. So bad grew the habit in Paris that a statute was passed expressly against it. But, indeed, the custom was not inflexible. Our young man from the country might hire his own lodging if he pleased and live at his ease, if he found no Hall to his liking.

The authority in the Halls was light, for the Principal owed his position to the consent of the whole community. He might, indeed, transfer the goodwill of the thing to another Principal, but his successor had to appear cap in hand and get the popular sanction. The great man was not necessarily a Master or even a Bachelor of Arts ; and it is not till late in the fifteenth century that we find academic status made a requirement for the office. But by-and-by the institution became more formal, as the authority of the University body increased, and the flagrant individualism of the little Halls disappeared. The Chancellor became able to remove a Principal at his discretion. In the time of Edward I. he acquired a right of veto over the Hall-statutes, and gradually certain moral qualifications were made indispensable in candidates for admission. All

THE KING'S HALL AND FOUNDATION 5

this was the beginning of the end, and towards the close of the Middle Ages the little democratic Halls were beginning to be absorbed in the larger organisation of the College. But while they existed they formed the centre of a very vigorous, interesting, and turbulent life. The *Statuta Aularia*, though belonging to a late period, and though by their very existence marking a degree of university authority in place of private regulations, give us many interesting details which probably date far back in the centuries. In the Statute of 1489, passed in the Chancellorship of John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, we find little that seems oppressive and much that is highly sensible. The *Aularis* of those days might not swear, dice, or malign the neighbours. He was compelled to attend Mass daily and all University sermons. He might cut meals when he pleased, in which case an allowance was made him for commons which he had not used. But other rules were more paternal. He might not walk abroad without a respectable companion, nor be out of doors after eight in winter and nine in summer. Above all things, he must not be disputatious and given to exercise his wit at the expense of his friends, making "odious comparisons of country to country, nobility to ignobility, Faculty to Faculty." If at any time he forgets his Latin and relapses into his native tongue, behold, he is fined one farthing; but if he breaks his neighbour's

head he must contribute the serious sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Hall exchequer.

Of the several little halls which went to make the College, Brasenose Hall may be chosen as the type, the germ of the later foundation. The history of the College is merely a continuation of the annals of the little *Aula Regia de Brasinnose*, since it was built around it, and had for its first Principal the last Master of the Hall. In the forged charter of 1219 the name of Brasenose is found. In 1239 or thereabouts, the building belonged to a certain Jeffry Jussell, whence it passed to one Simon de Balindon, and from him again, in 1261, to the Chancellor of the University. Thereafter it abruptly changed owners, and the son of Andrew of Durham was ejected by one Adam Dilet and his crew of turbulent scholars. In an Inquisition of 1278, quoted by Wood, the name Brasenose occurs as "*domus cum quatuor Scholis.*" This is but one step from the private house; but in the next fifty years the place acquired some corporate strength, which was soon to be put to the test.

In the early half of the fourteenth century Oxford was scarcely a cheerful abode for peaceful men. The industrious scholar must often have been knocked up at odd hours to go out with cudgel and quarter-staff to defend his faction. Even in those early days Brasenose Hall seems to have had a northern connec-

tion. At any rate, in 1334, Northerners fought against Southerners with such violence that the Castle was as full as it could hold of prisoners, and the sheriff was at his wits' end to keep them safe. Certain studious clerks from the Hall found the thing little to their liking, so they migrated to the Lincolnshire town of Stamford, leaving pandemonium behind them. The inevitable Merlin had prophesied on the matter in bad Latin :

*Doctrinae studium quae nunc viget ad Vada Boum
Tempore venturo celebrabitur ad Vada Saxi ;*

so those loyal Northerners made haste to fulfil his words. The King, Edward III., took the matter seriously to heart, and sent down a commission to inquire into the difficulty. He ordered the Sheriffs of Lincoln and Oxford to forbid lectures in Stamford, and summon the defaulting students to return ; the clerks replied that they preferred a quiet life and were there for good. Then came a second warning which drove some away ; but many remained obstinate, notably seventeen Masters and six Bachelors, who were not dispersed till five months later.

The students of Brasenose Hall seem to have held together and actually acquired an edifice in the town, what we know afterwards as "Brasenose Hall in Stamford." One archway of the place is still standing ;

the refectory was in existence till 1688; and there is extant a prehistoric knocker or door-handle of brass, which must date from early in the twelfth century, and probably was taken from the Oxford Hall to Lincolnshire as a token of continuity. The site of the building, the archway, and the knocker were acquired by the College in 1890, and the last mentioned now graces the college-hall. It was a short-lived but vigorous and flourishing little colony, and it was hard to uproot. In the King's ultimatum of 1335, a certain Philip, described as "obsonator Eneanasensis," is mentioned as contumacious to the last. How serious was the danger to Oxford is shown by the oath administered to candidates for degrees as late as 1827: "You shall swear that you will not give or attend lectures at Stamford, as in a university, seat of learning, or general college."

With the year 1435, we come to authoritative records, for then the lists of Principals begin. The names are, as a rule, quite unknown, and the life of the little Hall is a sealed book. The *Munimenta Academica* print a list* of the articles of furniture in the possession of Master Thomas Cooper of Brasenose Hall in the early fifteenth century, but such stray notes cast little light on the condition of the place. From 1480 to 1482 the Vice-Chancellor, William Sutton, was

* Cf. Appendix C.

also Principal of the Hall ; and the Proctors in 1458 and 1502 were John Molineux and Hugh Hawarden, both of Brasenose. The latter, indeed, is the centre of a tale. The Northern element in the Hall seems to have continued, as it did in the University at large, and in 1502 some jealous Southerners, law students of Hinksey Hall and Peckwater's Inn, made a riot in the street on the night of Trinity Sunday, and, filled with animosity to the unhappy Master Hawarden, the Northern Proctor, battered down the doors and windows of Brasenose Hall. It was but a forehint of that serious fracas four years later, when the Principal of Hart Hall and two others were killed, and the Principal of St. Albans and certain Merton graduates shone disgracefully among the combatants from their skill with the sword and bow.

But soon we find traces of the movement which was to change the hall into a college. The revolt against mediævalism had already begun. Grocyne and Linacre had taught at Oxford. Colet and Erasmus had kindled the torch of the new learning in the stronghold of the schoolmen. But this great movement, which is nearly associated with the foundation of Corpus Christi College, has no bearing on the early history of Brasenose. Indeed, the foundation is more in the nature of a protest,* an adhering to old traditional usage, as

* This is clearly seen by the Statutes of the College issued in

against the new anarchical ideas which were playing havoc with sober sense. The Northern element in the place was strong, and the North was the home of lost causes. The first hint we have of the new project is to be found in the will of a certain Edmund Croston or Crofton, a Master of Arts, who in his dying testament bequeathed £6 13s. 4d., to "the building of Brasynnose in Oxford, if such works as the Bishop of Lyncoln and Master Sotton intended there went on during their life or twelve years after." His books, too, were to be placed in the library of Brasenose, provided, he adds with fine caution, that that college be not a myth.

It remains to notice who were the pious founders, the "Bishop of Lyncoln" and "Master Sotton." Of the early life of both we have scanty records. William Smyth was the fourth son of one Robert Smyth, of Peel House, near Widnes in Lancashire—a family it would seem of some pretensions to gentility. Apparently he was a student in Oxford, but our one record of his academic career is the fact that he was a Bachelor of Law, when he became Rector of Cheshunt in 1492. His promotion seems to have been rapid. Margaret, Lady Richmond, and the great house of Stanley used their influence in his favour, and in 1491

1521, four years—it is worth noting—after the publication of Luther's Theses.

he was raised to the See of Coventry and Lichfield. Before he had been Clerk of the Hanaper and Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster. In civil life he presided over the Prince's Council in the Marches of Wales, and in the first years of the sixteenth century seems to have been President of Wales. There is a benefaction to his name prior to the foundation of Brasenose, for in 1495 he built at Lichfield a Hospital of St. John. In this year he was translated to Lincoln, which made him the official visitor of the two Colleges of Lincoln and Oriel. To the first he gave £300 for the establishment of a scholarship; to the second some land in the shires of Stafford and Oxford. Indeed, it is not unlikely that he had once intended to give to Lincoln what he afterwards gave to Brasenose. "*Praeposuerat enim,*" wrote Robert Parkinson, the sub-Rector of Lincoln, some fifty years later, "*omnia nostro collegio praestitisse quae postea in Brasinnos egit, si voluissent Rector et Scholares qui tum fuerunt ab eo propositas condiciones recipere.*" What precisely the conditions were does not appear; but a scandalous story elucidating the matter is still told in the college, which, like Herodotus, knowing, we scruple to set down. From 1500 to 1503 the Bishop was Chancellor of the University. From this time till his death on the 2nd of January, 15 $\frac{13}{14}$, the steps in the founding of the College are the only incidents of importance in his life.

The other founder, Sir Richard Sutton, Knight, has the distinction of being the first lay founder of any College. He came of the Suttons of Sutton ("of that Ilk") near Macclesfield, a north countryman like the Bishop and possibly connected by family traditions with the Hall, since a William Sutton was Principal in 1469. The recorded steps in his career are few. He was a Barrister of the Inner Temple, and in 1497 became a member of the King's Privy Council. At Isleworth there was a house of Brigittine nuns, called the Monastery of Sion, of which he became Steward in 1513. He supplied Pynson with funds to print the *Orcharde of Syon* in 1519, and died in 1524, having received knighthood some years before his death.

Of the early relations between the two men and the causes which led them to form the plan we have no means of guessing; but we can trace with some certainty the actual steps in its fulfilment. On the 20th of October, 1508, Richard Sutton, Esquire, and eight others take Brazen Nose Hall and little University Hall from University College on a lease of ninety-two years at £3 a year, provided the lessees spend £40 on the building within a year's time. No obstacles of any kind seem to have been placed by owners of land or college authorities to the incipient scheme. More, University agreed to renew the lease and surrender all claims as soon as property with a rental of £3 should be given them—a

compact which after Sutton's death was carried out by his trustees. Next year the founders and a certain Roland Messenger hire Edward Moseley's quarry at Headington, and the building proceeds. It began in the south-west corner of what is now the old quadrangle, on the site of No. I. staircase. The foundation stone was laid on the 1st of June 1509 ; and to-day a copy of the original inscription recording the event is placed above that staircase. It runs thus :—

“Anno Christi 1509 et Regis Henrici octavi primo |
 Nomine diuino lincoln | presul quoque sutton. Hanc posu
 | ere petram regis ad imperium | primo die Iunii.”

The various steps in the building for the next few years have little interest. In or about the year 1510 the founders acquired Salisbury Hall and St. Mary's Entry from Oriel College at a yearly rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence. Apparently the old Brasenose Hall was left till the college should have reached a sufficient size, for we find caution given to the University for the Hall's dues in 1511 and 1512 ; we have the name of the Principal of the year before ; and a certain over-zealous and reactionary scholar of the place found himself put in durance in the August of 1512, for setting himself to interfere with the building of Corpus.*

* Dr. Fowler has told the story in full in his history of Corpus Christi in this Series, pp. 37, 38.

But already by this year the College was practically formed, and in September of 1514 we find Matthew Smyth spoken of as "Principal of the College and Hall of Brasen Nose." In 1523 Sutton formally made over the property he had bought from University College to the Principal and Fellows of the new establishment. In 1530 the several halls called by the names of Haberdasher, Glass, Black and St. Edmund are granted to the college on a long lease by the Abbey of Oseney; and in the process of the next century become genuine college property. Lastly in 1556 Lincoln College let Staple Hall (which had once belonged to the monks of Eynsham) to Brasenose at a nominal rent of twenty shillings. At first the building must have been of very modest splendour. Till the time of James I., when an extra story was added, the quadrangle must have consisted of but one story and garrets. The chapel was a very little oratory on No. I. staircase, a place now desecrated into a Senior Common Room. The tower which stands over the old gateway was the most commanding feature of the place. It formed, as was usual, the Principal's lodgings, and being a work of more elaboration, was not completed till 1520. Standing high over the low quadrangle it must have had a distinction in its altitude very different from its present squat and undignified air.

Such architectural details are dreary reading, and it is pleasant to turn to the first charter of this new corpo-



From a photograph by the]

[Oxford Camera Club

COLLEGE HALL

SHOWING FOUNDERS' PORTRAITS



rate life, the statutes of the College. The formal charter of foundation is dated 15 $\frac{11}{12}$ and shortly after the statutes must have been put into shape. They seem to have been completed in 1514, but a revised code after Bishop Smyth's death was issued by Sutton in 15 $\frac{21}{22}$. The preface is in the conventional style of the pious founder :—

“In the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of the most blessed Mother of God, Mary the glorious Virgin, and of Saints Hugh and Chad confessors, and also of St. Michael the archangel : We, William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Sutton, Esquire, confiding in the aid of the Supreme Creator, who knows, directs, and disposes the wills of all that trust in him, do out of the goods which in this life, not by our merits, but of the grace of His fulness, we have received abundantly, by royal authority and charter found, institute and establish in the University of Oxford, a perpetual College of poor and indigent scholars, who shall study and make progress in philosophy and sacred theology ; commonly called *The King's Haule and College of Brasenose in Oxford* ; to the praise, glory, and honour of Almighty God, of the glorious Virgin Mary, Saints Hugh and Chad confessors, St. Michael the archangel and All Saints ; for the support and exaltation of the Christian Faith, for the advancement of holy church, and for the furtherance of divine worship.”

The College to begin with was to consist of a Princi-

pal and twelve Scholars or Fellows. The ecclesiastical element was strong. The Principal must be over thirty years, a graduate and a priest, and elected with the sanction of the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln. His income was the extravagant sum of five pounds, but he might accept such clerical preferment as did not seriously interfere with his college duties. A Fellow was required to be in residence at least ten months of every year, and he must enter holy orders within seven years of taking his Master's degree. His income was merely free board and lodging and service; but he too might receive ecclesiastical patronage up to the annual value of ten marks.

The place of the mere scholar and the commoner is a little obscure in the early days of the College. Provision was made for the admission of certain scholars, who were not to be accounted Fellows, whose annual income was below twelve marks, and who were to receive free board and lodging. But side by side with this provision we find a clause to admit six young men of noble birth, who had incomes of forty pounds or more in possession or in expectancy. Such was the origin of that fair flower, the gentleman-commoner. His existence at so early a date in this "*perpetuum Collegium pauperum et indigentium scholarium*" is a sign of a change which was beginning to come over the whole of University life. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries your

Courtenay and De Vere, when it pleased him to study at Oxford, had always the Church or Bar before him. But now Oxford is becoming a school for the man of fashion and the soldier as well as the lawyer and the priest.

So much for the first rude beginnings of the little College. Its later characteristics are already found in embryo in the manner of its foundation. The whole tale is pedestrian and typical; an old and flourishing Hall; two well meaning and beneficent gentlemen; and then the wider corporation of the College. The history is in no way spoiled with new movements and great intellectual or religious convulsions. If anything its foundation is a piece of reaction; at any rate it is highly respectable, conservative and normal. It is in its way a relic of mediævalism in the midst of a swift changing world.

CHAPTER II

ITS LATER HISTORY

THE century which followed the foundation was all but unmarked by any event worthy of record. The character of the place was fixed from the first, and we find the twin characteristics of a northern connection and a conservative temper grow stronger as the years pass. The students are in the main drawn from good old northern houses, the gentry of Cheshire, and York, and Lancashire. The early benefactions have generally a local condition among the terms of bequest. In 1522, John Port, serjeant-at-law, founded two fellowships for natives of the county of Chester; William Clyfton the sub-dean of York gave preference in his foundation of 1538 to natives of York, Lincoln and Nottingham; so also the Dean of York, Brian Higden, who in 1549 founded a fellowship for natives of the counties of York and Lincoln. Such early benefactions were remarkable for their frequency as well as their terms. Seven new fellowships are founded in the first fifty years, and in 1538 we find John Claymond the first President of

Corpus Christi College, giving funds to maintain six scholars at Brasenose, provided they should attend lectures on humanity and Greek at his own college. This is in truth coals of fire, when an eminent scholar of the old Hall had forfeited his liberty in his zealous interference with the erection of the new Corpus. The scholars who enjoyed this bounty were called Claymondines, which in Antony Wood's time had become Clemmondines. In 1586, Joyce Frankland, the widow of Robert Trapps, citizen and goldsmith of London, left considerable property in lands and money for the "encrease of the Principals' diet, Fellowships, and for the addition of one Fellow more." "She was so liberal a benefactor," says Wood, "that her name hath been and is still repeated in the common grace after meat in Hall, and the society also have, in gratitude to her memory, erected a monument over her grave in St. Leonard's Church, in Foster Lane, London; which monument was demolished (as I conceive) by the great fire that happened in London in Sept. 1666."

In 1521, there matriculated Alexander Nowell, a boy of thirteen years or so, who was afterwards to be Principal of the College and a chief benefactor. There is extreme doubt about the year of his birth, which is given by Churton as 1507, and by Wood as 1511. In any case he seems to have had serious trouble with his degrees. We know that he was admitted Master in

1540. The year of his Bachelor's degree is variously given as 1526 and 1536; which would seem to show that he was either fifteen years an undergraduate (which is a long time of probation) or fourteen years a mere Bachelor. In 1542 he gave public lectures in the University on logic, and in the next year was made master of Westminster School. Then comes his busy public life, and it is not till near the end, in 1595, six years before his death, that he returns to his old college as Principal. He held the office for only one year, and on his retirement was made a Doctor of Divinity with seniority over all other doctors of the University.

His official period was too short for his influence to have much effect on the College, but he was remarkably loyal in the matter of endowments. Six scholarships were founded by Queen Elizabeth at his intercession, the scholars to be called Queen Elizabeth's * scholars; and he himself was enabled by the same gracious hand to found seven more. The curious Wood finds that all his acts run to the tune of the number thirteen. "He was thirteen years when he came to the college, he gave thirteen places, and he died on 13 Feb., on which day he is commemorated by the Society." So also says his epitaph. "*Coll. Aenei Nasi Oxonii, ubi ab anno actatis 13, annos 13 studvit.*"

The mere list of benefactions and successive Principals

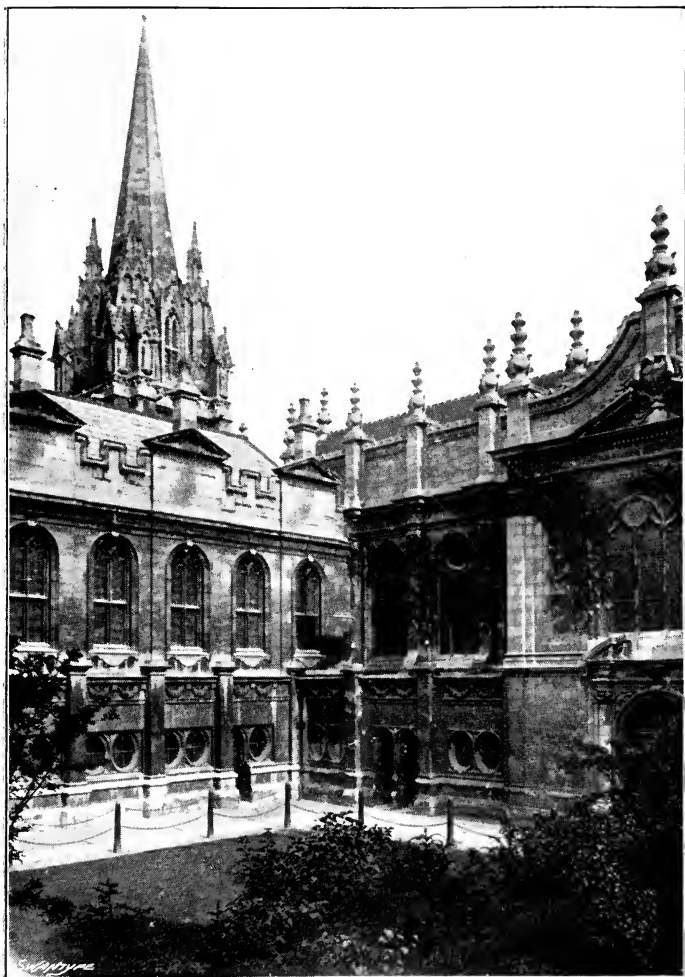
* See Appendix D.

is unprofitable reading, and it is with real refreshment that one passes from the quiet Oxford of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to the times when the sleepy city played some part in the nation's history. To be sure there is abundant interest in Elizabethan and Jacobean Oxford, but the interest lies in the quaint society of the place and the brilliance of individuals, not in any part played by the corporate body. In a later chapter we shall consider this early social life, but at present our concern is with the dry-bones of college annals, the constitutional and political history, so to speak, before the chronicle of gossip. And it is not till the Parliament wars that Brasenose rises from its obscure prosperity.

The golden days of Oxford under the early Laudian rule, when the University ruled in a masterful fashion over the town, when the King and Queen came to Oxford and were entertained with stage-plays in Christ Church and St. John's, came to an end with the Parliamentary occupation in 1642. Thereafter comes a period of storm and stress, when Charles takes up his quarters in the ancient city, and the place is in a state of siege. Even in these days gaiety did not wholly languish, for when the Queen came from the north to join the King, and took up her lodgings in the warden's house at Merton, there was a court of a kind, at which poor Royalists cut what figure they could. The plague

came in 1643, and a fire in 1644, which arose from a soldier roasting a stolen pig. In 1645, the city saw the execution of the unfortunate Colonel Windebank for his surrender of Bletchington Manor House, and at last on June 24, 1646—the King being now in the hands of the Scots—the place surrendered. Fairfax and the Parliament army were singularly considerate, and did their best to preserve all libraries and ancient buildings. A Parliamentary commission was appointed to inquire into the abuses of the University, which, if we may judge from the plain-spoken narrative of Wood, were considerable. It is fortunate for us that this good man spent most of these troubled years in Oxford, for his narrative is always beside us as an acrid and forcible commentary on his day and generation.

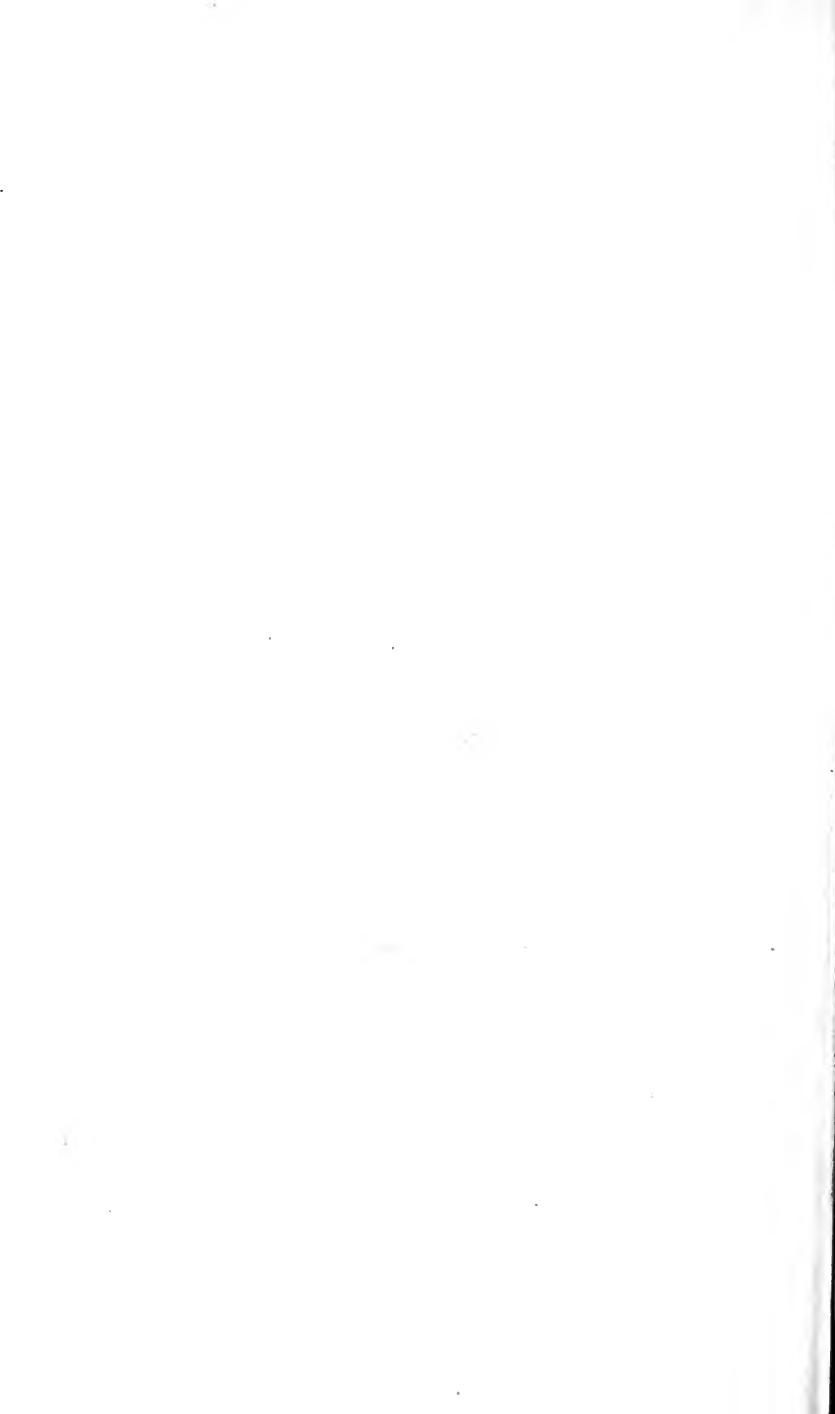
The Register of the Parliamentary Visitors of the University from 1647 to 1658 gives us a clear account of the state of affairs in Brasenose. Naturally from its northern connection and conservative traditions, it was vehemently loyalist. In the May of 1648, two-thirds of the College signified their willingness to be driven out sooner than acknowledge the right of this visitation. Dr. Samuel Radcliff, the Principal, was deposed, and a certain Daniel Greenwood set up in his stead. Then came troubles. The College would have none of the unhappy Mr. Greenwood, and, seeing that their Principalship might be regarded as vacant, put up a



From a photograph by the

[Oxford Camera Club

LIBRARY AND CHAPEL
FROM THE SMALL QUADRANGLE



notice on the Chapel door to summon the Fellows to elect. Mr. Thomas Sixsmith and two others were promptly called before the visitors and commanded to acknowledge their new Head, but these wily gentlemen answered with fair words and anarchical deeds. Meeting in the West end of the old library, they made an election on their own account, Mr. Thomas Yate, one of their own number. He was immediately deprived of his new honour and sent packing. After this, the Fellows seem to have given way to sober reflection ; at any rate they made no further resistance, but acknowledged the powers that were as ordained of Heaven. One excellent result of the Visitors' reign is recorded, for they made Sir William Petty, the economist, a fellow of the College, and deputy to the professor of anatomy, Dr. Clayton, whom he succeeded in 1651. In the ruin of the Cromwellian party in 1658, he was deprived of the office and ejected from Brasenose. He removed to London and became a member of the Rota Club, "that place of ingenious and smart discourse," a frequenter of Will's coffee-house, and a close friend of Pepys.

The Restoration in Oxford was the beginning of a period of new laxity and merriment. The ejected Dr. Thomas Yate was made Principal on August 10, 1660. From this time till near the close of last century, the College does not figure prominently in the life of the

University. But it is a season of much interest for one who would study the social life of the place, for then, more than at any other period in its history, was Brasenose a riotous and well-living abode of learning. Discipline in the city generally seems to have been at a discount. In 1673, Wood notes the occurrence of an epoch-making riot. "Proctors took their places, great rudeness at Trinity College, the undergraduates and freshmen came into the hall, scrambled for biscuits, took away bottles and glasses; at Wadham the like. September 15, the election of Oxford Mayor; Anthony Hall, vintner, chosen, at which some young scholars and servitors being present, heard his speech of thanks out of the balcony." Master Hall seems to have adopted a plain, downright, beef-and-beer style of eloquence, which gave offence to the cultured gentlemen of the College. Accordingly says Wood, "the scholars hissed, but the townsmen, brooking it not, turned them out; then the scholars made some resistance by flipping them on the cheek; after that, in the evening, they fought, and so they did on Sunday and Wednesday in St. Peter's in the Bailey; a scholar of Brasen Nose his arm broke, another his head; began by servitors, and carried on by them and commoners and townsmen of the meaner sort. This continued above a week, and would have lasted longer, had not the vice-chancellors and proctors bestirred themselves for the appeasing of it."

We do not wonder that R. Pauling, draper, who was Mayor for 1681 and Puritan-bred, dissuaded such gentlemen as he knew from sending their children to the University, because, as he said "it was a debauched place, a rude place of no discipline."

Several distinguished visitors came to Brasenose in those years, among them the French physician Sorbière,* who was told by some Brasenose wag that the nose of brass represented the nose of the famous Duns Scotus, a former student of the college. More important was Samuel Pepys, who came up in 1668, and inspected the whole place in a few hours. The entry in his diary is as follows:—"9th June we came to Oxford, a very sweet place; paid our guide 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; barber, 2*s.* 6*d.*; book, Stonehenge, 4*s.*; boy that shewed us the colleges before dinner, 1*s.* To dinner, and then out with my wife and people and landlord, and to him that showed us the schools and library, 10*s.*; to him that showed us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5*s.*; so to see Christchurch with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone before dinner, and did give the boy that went

* "I shall not take upon me to describe all the Colledges to you. There is one, at whose gate I saw a great brazen nose, like Punchinello's vizard. I was told they also call it Brazen-Nose Colledge, and that John Duns Scotus taught here, in remembrance of which they set up the sign of his nose at the gate."—*Voyage to England; containing Many Things Relating to the State of Learning, Religion, and other Curiosities of that Kingdom,*

with me 1*s.* ; strawberries, 1*s.* 2*d.* ; dinner and servants, 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* After coming home from the schools I went with the landlord to Brazen-nose College, to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand of the Child of Hales, butler, 2*s.* Thence with coach and people to Physic-garden, 1*s.* So to Friar Bacon's Study, I up and saw it and gave the man 1*s.* ; bottle of sack for landlord, 2*s.* Oxford mighty fine place and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard, and met many people and scholars going home ; and there did get some pretty good musick, and sang and danced till supper, 5*s.*" One may still meet many people and scholars coming home from Abingdon, but Oxford as a place of cheap entertainment is, we fear, a vanished ideal.

In the year 1679 the College received perhaps its most famous benefaction from Sarah, the Dowager Duchess of Somerset, who gave messuages and lands in Buckingham for the benefit of four scholars, to be called Somerset scholars, chosen from the free school of Manchester. They were to receive each 5*s.* a week for seven full years from their admission ("except they be promoted to a fellowship in this or any other college, or be expelled"), and were to have one chamber found them by the College, with four studies, or else four distinct chambers. They were required to wear cloth gowns with open sleeves, like the students of Christ

Church, and square caps, but without tassels while they were undergraduates. At their admission they were to receive from the College a new gown and cap, and a new gown and cap at the beginning of the third year, and again at the beginning of the fifth year, and were to deposit no caution, but if they did not pay their battels within a fortnight after they were due, their names were to be crossed and their allowance stopped till all arrears were paid. The Duchess appointed a commemoration on the day of the foundation, and a Latin speech on that day to be made by one of the Somerset scholars to commemorate their benefactress. On such an auspicious day 40s. was to be distributed to the Principal, Fellows and Scholars present at prayers; of which the Principal was to have a double share. In her will in 1686 she also provided for the maintenance of a certain number of additional scholars to be chosen alternately from the schools of Manchester, Marlborough, and Hereford.

In 1691 a certain William Hulme of the county of Lancaster, gave lands in trust to certain persons to maintain "four exhibitioners of the poorest sort of Bachelors for the space of four years." They were to be nominated by the Warden of Manchester, the Rector of Prestwich, and the Rector of Bury for the time being. One other important bequest of this period demands mention. In 1701 Sir Francis Bridgeman, Knight, bequeathed among other things £500 for a

panegyric yearly on King James the Second. Apparently the searching analysis to which the monarch's character must have been submitted came in time to be a source of trouble even to this loyal College. They felt that they had said all of good that could be said about him, and that it would be a pity to spoil an honest work by excursions in satire; so by a decree in Chancery, dated 1734, the money was ordered to be applied to the pay of one Fellow, to be appointed yearly by the College, for making and pronouncing an oration on some of the arts and sciences taught in the University. It is pleasing to think that the unfortunate King was eulogised conscientiously for thirty years before the College discovered an interest in the arts and sciences.

In the 18th century, as we have said, Brasenose figured little in history, and contributed merely a few notes to the records of Oxford. "It is not specially distinguished," says Mr. Madan, "except by an undue prominence in the Vice-Chancellor's Court." In the beginning of the period it was strongly Jacobite. Among the list of the "clergy, Fellows of Colleges, and schoolmasters who have not taken y^e Oaths to y^e Government" in 1699 we find the names of "Mr. Wm. Pinoock, senior fellow of br. Nose," and "Mr. Stephen Seagar, fellow of the same Colledge." Later, in the time of the first Jacobite rising, the place got into a ferment. On the 28th of May, which was King

George's birthday, some bells were "jambled" by the Whigs, but the mob rose and in its disgust at such whiggery "pulled down the greater part of a presbyterian meeting-house." On the 29th, which was a Sunday, the riot became more serious. A collection of Whigs, who called themselves the Constitution Club, used to meet at the King's Head Tavern in the High Street. Being for the most part young gentlemen-commoners they grew wanton and ordered the tavern windows to be illuminated and faggots got ready for a bonfire. But the crowd would have none of this, and tore the faggots in pieces and bombarded the club-room with stones, in which labour of love they were seconded by the "disaffected scholars," who flung their caps in the air and scattered money amongst the rabble, crying "Down with the constitutioners! Down with the Whigs! Long live King James the Third! the true King! No usurper! the Duke of Ormond! etc." "Heaths were everywhere drank," says Hearne, "suitable to the occasion, and every one at the same time drank to a new restauration, which I heartily wish may speedily happen." This was on the Saturday, but on the Sunday the Constitutioners met again, this time at Oriel, and again were attacked by a mob of scholars. A Brasenose man was wounded by a gun-shot fired by a Constitutioner, after which the crowd dispersed to its old and welcome task of pulling down the conventicles.

On June 10th came the birthday of the "true king," he "being now compleat 27 years of age." It seems worth while to give Hearne's own account of the affair, for it shows that University discipline, if in the hands of a member of an honest college, might fall lightly on the Tory delinquent. "'Tis possible," he says, "that there had been very great publick rejoicings here amongst some people, had not Dr. Charlett, who is provice-chancellor, been very industrious to hinder them. So that all honest men were obliged to drink King James's health, and to show other tokens of loyalty, very privately in their own houses, or else in their own chamber, or else out of town. For my own part I walked out of town to Foxcomb, with honest Will. Fullerton, and Mr. Sterling, and Mr. Eccles, all three non-juring civilians of Balliol College, and with honest Mr. John Leake, formerly of Hart Hall, and Rich. Clements (son to old Harry Clements, the bookseller), he being a cavalier. We were very merry at Foxcombe, and came home between nine and ten. Honest Will. Fullerton and myself (it being very near ten o'clock) were taken to by the proctor (Dod of Braz-nose) just on this side Christ Church, as we were coming to Carfax. The proctor was very civil to Will., and did not pretend to say anything to me. There was illuminating at Wadham, tho' 'twas soon stopped by Charlett's order and contrivance, The Bishop of Bristol (Smalridge)

invited all the noblemen and gent.-commoners of his house to a supper, and kept them in his own lodgings, he being one of the sneakers, and terribly afraid of disoblighing the debauched Court of King George."

John Meare succeeded Yate as Principal in 1681, and he in turn was succeeded by Robert Shippen, who subsequently became a Professor of Music in Gresham College, London. Then comes an undistinguished list of names—Francis Yarborough, William Gwyn, Ralph Cawley, and Thomas Barker. But in 1785 the College entered on a new period of prosperity with the election to the office of William Cleaver. He was made successively Bishop of Chester in 1788, of Bangor in 1800, and finally of St. Asaph in 1806. At the same time the Phœnix Common-room, perhaps the most famous of all college clubs, was founded, but its history belongs to a later chapter. So, too, does the account of the headship of Frodsham Hodson, when the College attained the height of its prosperity. The main facts in the life of this remarkable man may be noted here. He came to Brasenose from Manchester in 1787, was elected Fellow apparently about 1792, and after a year as rector of St. Mary's, Stratford-by-Bow, was made Principal in 1809. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1818, and Regius Professor of Divinity in 1820. Lord Liverpool had marked him out for a bishopric, but he died in 1822 in his fifty-first year. He is buried in the

ante-chapel of the College, and a good portrait by Phillips in the College hall preserves his memory. It shows a keen, active face, with something tart and humorous in the eyes and the lines of the mouth—the face of a great administrator. To him succeeded in 1822 Ashurst Gilbert, who was raised to the See of Chichester in 1842. In all this period the College was distinguished in the schools as in other things, and we find that in the two years between 1808 and 1810 Brasenose had seven out of thirty-seven first classes and twelve out of seventy-five seconds.

In the time of Ashurst Gilbert the College was engaged in a great lawsuit, about which a pleasing story is told. In 1827 an information was filed in Chancery at the relation of Lord Suffield to compel Brasenose College, as Governors of the Middleton Grammar School, to apply the surplus income to certain charity estates for the benefit of the school. Letters patent had been granted to the College by Queen Elizabeth on the application of Dean Nowell, by which lands of the annual value of about £28 were appropriated for the purpose of founding the free school. The rents were to be applied in payment of fixed stipends to the masters and students of the school and allowances to the Fellows and scholars of the College. These payments left a small surplus, in fact, which was not noticed in the letters patent. The

College were also incorporated as Governors of the school, and licensed to take other grants in perpetuity for the support not only of the school, but also of the poor scholars of the College. Subsequently other property became vested in the College for the same purposes. Under the Principalship of Nowell the surplus incomes had been applied to the general benefit of the College. In 1827 the surplus had grown to more than £700 a year, and it was claimed that this was "wholly applicable for the maintenance of the school."

The case was, of course, a sort of test one, and of extreme importance for all the older Oxford colleges. Dr. Gilbert, who was then Principal, to the surprise of his colleagues insisted that the case should be entrusted to Bethell, a young and comparatively unknown barrister. Bethell was accordingly retained, and in spite of the opinion of certain eminent counsel that a compromise should be sought, the College resolved to fight it out. The case came on in 1831 before Sir John Leach. Bethell appeared with Pemberton Leigh and stated his case so ingeniously and convincingly that it was given in favour of Brasenose. An appeal was made to the House of Lords, but the decision was not reversed. The future Lord Westbury used to say that this success at once trebled his practice. The grateful College invited him to visit them, and, when he found

this impossible, sent him "a piece of plate with a suitable inscription."

The reason for Dr. Gilbert's preference for a young and inexperienced barrister is found in a curious tale. The young Bethell was being examined *viva-voce* in the Classical Schools in 1818, and was put on to construe a hard passage from Pindar. After finishing the passage set him he was so carried away with the beauty of the poet that he went on through nearly the whole of the ode, turning it into the most felicitous English. One of the examiners, Dr. Gilbert, was struck with the boy's skill in catching the connection between the sentences and his ingenuity in phrasing. Ten years afterwards, when the great College lawsuit came on, he remembered the boy he had examined, remembered, too, that he was now a barrister and reputed a rising one; it was just such a type of mind that the case required; so Bethell was briefed and his first great opportunity given to the future Lord Chancellor.

The headship of Richard Harington brings us well into the present century. The scholastic and sporting history of recent years will be dealt with elsewhere; so, too, the very considerable architectural changes. Edward Hartopp Cradock became Principal in 1853, and in the year 1856 the new University Commission revised the statutes and ordinances. The previous proposal for a commission had been violently resisted

by the College, as is shown by the lengthy narrative printed in the *Oxford University, City, and County Herald* for Saturday, May 10, 1851. The Principal and scholars took counsels' opinion on the matter of the legality of such a Commission, maintaining that the Crown had no right to interfere in any way with the rights, property, and regulations of the College, and that such visitations as history recorded on the part of others than the proper visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, were made at the request or with the consent of the governing body. The opinion of counsel—Bethell and three others—went to confirm the College in this view: "We are of opinion that the Commission of the 31st August 1850, is not, as respects Brasenose College, constitutional or legal"; but they added advice with the cautious proviso—"if the College shall deem it incumbent on them in the discharge of their duty, and in the protection of the rights entrusted to them, not to submit to the Commission until its legality shall have been duly established." The Commission, when subsequently established with proper powers, worked certain beneficial changes. It abolished the condition of birthplace in election to Fellowships,* provided for the conversion of four Fellowships into Scholarships,

* The senior Fellowships, owing to the appropriations of fines to the seniors, were very valuable, about £500 per annum; while the junior Fellowships were about £80. Five out of the twenty

and the possibility of electing a Principal who had not formerly been a Fellow of the College; it made the conditions of election to a Fellowship more stringent and at the same time more secular; it abolished certain small scholarships on the foundation of Joyce Frankland, John Claymond, Humphrey Ogle, James Stoddard, Hugh Henley, Thomas Church, and Thomas Yate, the emoluments being now treated as part of the corporate revenues of the College; it did away with the former multiplicity of oaths which were baffling to a modest man; and in general it removed some of the more absurd anachronisms which clogged the statutes.

It was during Dr. Cradock's * period of office that the scheme of amalgamation with Lincoln was proposed.

Fellowships were suppressed, one being elevated to the endowment of a Professorship, the remaining four to the establishment of additional Scholarships. The senior Fellowships were limited to £300 per annum, the juniors raised to £150.

* A pleasant article in *Blackwood* (Sept. 1895), after lamenting the engulfing of Standen's shop in the new buildings of B. N. C., gives a kindly sketch of Dr. Cradock:—"Best known, and in the undergraduate world, most popular, were two of the married Heads,—Cradock of B. N. C., and Evans of Pembroke. For if time had sprinkled their hair with grey and lined their features, we felt that their hearts were young and that their sympathies were with the young. There was little of the dry bone about either man. Both took a vivid interest in their colleges, on the river, or in the cricket-field as well as in the schools. Neither at B. N. C. nor at Pembroke was there needed any tutor posing as the undergraduate's friend to stand between the wrath of Jove and the peccant mortal. Straight to Cæsar's judgment-seat the defendant was ready to go, in certain hope that, if impartial justice was administered, all due allowances

On the 22nd of March 1878, there was a meeting of the two governing bodies in Brasenose Common-room, but by the end of the year the plan had fallen through. In 1886 Mr. Watson succeeded to the office, and on his resignation in 1889 Mr. Heberden, the present Principal, was elected.

would be made for young blood and young heads on young shoulders. We do not pretend to understand the secrets of the Senate-house, nor were we ever curious to inquire whether, in the circle of Dons, Cradock and Evans were regarded as model Heads, but we make bold to assert that no two men ever exercised a healthier influence or were more revered in the undergraduate world, and that the feeling that the 'dear old chief' would not like it was in their respective colleges an effectual stopper on many an incipient or contemplated act of insubordination. They are gone from among us now, dying like David at a good old age, if not full of riches, full at any rate of years and of honour, and their like we may hardly hope to see again."

CHAPTER III

EARLY SOCIAL LIFE

PROPERLY we have no concern with the early student who honoured Brasenose Hall or Little University with his presence. He was in no way a collegian, for his hostel was not a college. He was, as a rule, a crude utilitarian, desperately poor, bent on learning, and coming up to Oxford for its letters and not for its life. When he came down from the North he would beg by the way, and it might even be that he was sustained by the contributions of the charitable towards a sort of chest provided for his benefit. He shared a dormitory with several others, sleeping under a ragged coverlet, with no fire on the hearth, and the winds of heaven blowing through the glassless window. His food was execrable, and his academical gown was then literally his chief garment. He was up at five, reading in the University schools, and his study of a night was done by the light of a sputtering lamp. Pestilence, too, was always in the air, in the food he ate, and the water he drank, so that he was liable at any time to be cut off in

his hardships. The result was that he was generally a heroic being, and if he fought his way to some measure of learning he made good use of it. Oxford was then a nursery of character if scarcely of culture.

But the old student of the Hall was not a pale, abstracted bookworm. He was a robustious and aggressive person, as rough a type as the land could furnish. He came often from the ends of the earth, and he brought with him local prejudices and provincial habits. He wore arms continually, for the towns' folk would fall upon him as he went about the streets, and if he walked in the country there were always the footpad gentry waiting to slit his throat. Often the hoarse roar of the town horns and the jangling of the University bells warned him that a street-row was on the boards, and he hastened thither, rejoicing. The cook of the Papal legate empties a pot of broth on him, and he retaliates by sticking the said cook in the leg. He hates the Jews who have settled in the town, because he owes them money at 43 per cent.; so he now and again starts an anti-Semite agitation, in which he suffers severely. He has also his own local pride, and his local quarrels to fight. If he come from the North or from Ireland, and have Celtic blood in his veins, he will have a profound scorn for the Saxon, and fight to the best of his power on the side of the Northern nation in their bow-and-arrow battles. He is a sports-

man in his way, and now and then goes poaching for the day in the preserves of Woodstock, Bagley or Shotover; for which little escapade, if the Crown get wind of it, he may pay severely. He plays football, after a fashion, in a place in the north of the town near Balliol College called the Beaumont, but one would like to know the rules he played under, for the result seems to have been carnage.

But for our purpose it is necessary to pick up the thread of undergraduate life only when it has been straitened into the discipline of a college. When Master Lawless (shall we say?) comes down from the wilds of Cheshire to the College of Brasenose, then not fifty years old, he goes through certain formalities of admission. No questions are asked about his income, for he is the "*filius aut consanguineus nobilium et magnatum*." But he is compelled to have a tutor, and to wear a surplice in chapel under penalty of a fine. Also he swears before his admission to observe all the statutes of the College in so far as they concern his own person. Attendance at chapels is severely exacted, and if he lies abed and fails to appear he may be corrected with the rod. He has to go through an elaborate formula of daily prayers and masses and "*exequies*" for the souls of the Founders. Dreary disputations are conducted by the Bachelors and Masters twice a week on logic, and once a week on theology, with

a break in Lent filled by weekly lectures on moral philosophy. The Fellows in those days had a complicated life. They were bound to recite the Lord's Prayer five times a day, "in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ," the Angelic Salutation five times "in honour of the five joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary," the Apostles' Creed once, and some prayers for the benefit of William Smyth and Richard Sutton.

The servants were the Bible-reader, who was clerk of the chapel, the manciple or sponsor, the butler,* cook, scullions, and one solitary porter, who filled likewise the onerous post of barber to the College. The one woman about the place was the laundress, ("mapparum et aliorum usualium vestimentorum lotrix"), who was not admitted within College, but might receive the washing at the gates. "Quam," adds the *Statutes*, "ætatis talis talisque conditionis esse volumus in qua omnis suspitio sinistra evitetur."

At dinner in Hall the Bible was read or some other "useful book" which the Principal might recommend. It cannot have been the liveliest of meals, for all had to talk in Latin under pain of a fine. When dinner was over and grace had been said no one might remain, nor

* A note in Hearne, iv. p. 335 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), seems of interest in this connection. "Which Place hath been sometimes before, I think, enjoyed by Scholars, tho' not by Masters of Arts, as there is a Scholar now (an Under-Graduate, who wears no Gown & never intends it more) that is chief Butler of Brasen-nose College."

were knots of scholars allowed to gather in any public place in College. Indeed, a most curious and minute system of fines prevailed. Anything from a farthing to twopence was the penalty for coming late to a lecture, omitting to wear a surplice in chapel, entering the buttery, pantry or kitchen without leave, attempting to linger in Hall after dinner, or speaking in English in any public place within the walls. If Master Lawless in a sudden studious fit went to the library, opened the windows for air, took down a book and left without closing it or the windows, he contributed a shilling to the common purse. If he lost his temper and swore—eight-pence. If in a gentle discussion with some gentleman of another county he emphasised his arguments with a blow on the face, he was poorer by three-and-fourpence; if he returned to the attack with a stick or a stone, by six-and-eightpence; but if he eventually succeeded in wounding his antagonist to the effusion of blood, by thirteen-and-fourpence. If at last, “in disgrace with fortune and men’s eyes,” and violently out of temper, he summed up all his grievances in a comprehensive assault and battery on the Principal or the Vice-Principal, he forthwith bade farewell to learning and retired incontinently to his native wilds.

Some minor points in the petty economy of the College demand a passing notice. The Principal could regulate the dress of the Fellows, and there is an

excellent statute, copied apparently from Magdalen, which forbids long hair ("Quod nullus sociorum inordinatos crines nutriat" in the quaint Latin), and the wearing of costly furs, "cloth of velvet or of Damascus, sattin or chamblet." The scholar might not bear arms, except when coming up or returning home, nor might he play at dice, cards or ball except at Christmastide, when games of cards might be played in Hall. There were to be no dogs, birds, or any other animals kept in College or out of it which should disturb the studies and slumbers of collegians. Nor was instrumental music to be played in chambers if it produced a like effect. If Master Dugald from across the Tweed, having strayed so far, brought down with him his native pipes, and essayed to play them, Master Dugald's melody was promptly put a stop to. Finally, there was the curious rule that no one should walk out of College alone except to the Schools or a lecture, but should choose a suitable companion. Doubtless it was a wise precaution, for two men are better than one in a street-row. Strange practice though it was, it survived till comparatively recent days. I have heard old members of the College say that in their time it was a stringent piece of etiquette that undergraduates should walk out of College in pairs and arm-in-arm. Once out of the gates, apparently the couples might scatter wherever they pleased.

The furnishing of the scholar's room cannot have been magnificent. In his dormitory he had often to share his bed with another. There seems to have been no chance of a morning bath, and it is doubtful if the College rules allowed early pilgrimages to the Isis or Cherwell. Probably he had few books, possibly none at all; he read his Aristotle in the huge vellum folios in the library, chiefly in the morning hours when the light was good. His study at its best can only have been a very humble affair. When the great Earl of Essex went to Cambridge, he had a deal table covered with green baize, a truckle-bed, six chairs and a wash-hand basin, valued altogether at five pounds. It is unlikely that the poor gentleman of Brasenose had so much. It is difficult to tell what his studies amounted to. He had of course his logic, and, if he were a north-countryman he probably used as his text-book the *Institutiones logicæ* of 1589, the work of one John Saunderson, a Lancashire Roman Catholic. He had, too, his lectures on Rhetoric to attend, and the works of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian to study. He had a certain smattering of grammar and philology to acquire from the works of Priscian or Linacre or some such approved authority. A little geometry, the rudiments of the Greek language, and a certain course in moral philosophy based on the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, made up the whole of his possible studies.

Of the later sixteenth century, the days when the bishops were burned opposite Balliol College, when the young Raleigh was at Oriel, when Nowell became Principal, the social life is scarcely known to us. Doubtless several of the tavern poets and playwrights in London, "the young gentlemen from the university," came from Brasenose, and compared its ale with the brew sold at the Mermaid. Richard Barnfield, to take one instance, was at Brasenose from November 27, 1589, to February 5, 1592. He was apparently rusticated for a season, but according to a register of the College, he was allowed to return on condition of delivering a declamation publicly in the hall within six weeks, or paying in default 6s. 8d. He may have been a nervous man on whom the College took this mode of inflicting punishment. Then he went to London in his period of *sturm und drang*, and finally died a quiet country gentleman in Staffordshire. He was a poet with a peculiarly sweet and true lyrical gift, and some of his pieces had the rare honour of being for long attributed to Shakespeare. About the same period the College made efforts after luxury. Dean Nowell—famous in story as the discoverer of the art of bottling beer*—about

* "And here, having mentioned his attachment to the honest and quiet art and recreation of angling, with which Augustus used to relieve the cares of empire, one circumstance connected with it must not be omitted. Having either accidentally or by design (for the accounts vary) left in the grass, or buried in the ground, a bottle

the year 1572, put board floors in the lower rooms of the College, which previously had been unboarded.*

In the Cavalier and Puritan occupations of the city, Brasenose seems, as far as records show, to have kept within her gates. But towards the end of the century, we catch glimpses of the hilarious doings of the gentlemen of the College. Then comes the eighteenth century at Oxford, which is pre-eminently social. It is a dull backwater of learning, the home of lost and stupid causes, of vegetating dons and the idiot and modish undergraduate. When Berkeley came to Holywell, looking upon Oxford as a sort of Ideal City, he must have found himself sadly at a loss. At the very end of the period, when new influences were beginning to work, and life was stirring, a Highland girl, Miss Grant of Rothiemurchus, came to stay with the Master of University, and left it as her opinion that the only two things for which the place seemed remarkable were obstinate Toryism and idle frivolity. Scarcely a single Fellow or Master, she adds, in any way approached gentility; and they married vulgar low-born women like themselves. All this is true enough of the whole

of ale, he found it again after some time, 'not a bottle but a gun, such the sound of it when it opened.' And this (as casualty, says Fuller, is the mother of more inventions than industry) is believed the original of bottled ale in England."—Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 80; cf. Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 115.

* See Appendix D.

century, but the very laxity of discipline, the low standard of learning and conduct, give the period a fascination for the student of undergraduate manners. It was a home of festivity, a rakish, modish place, full of foppery, and drunkenness, and vile language. It is a pity that Hogarth did not begin his "Rake's Progress" before the hero had left the University; for we might have had a panorama of the transformation of the gawky boy into the clumsy man of fashion.

Study, apparently, was little in favour, and small wonder. A Brasenose scholar writes in 1742: "We are here quite taken up with logic, which is, indeed, a very dry study." It was indeed a very dry study as pursued in that place, where the tutor read his bare notes on *Ferii* and *Darapti* to a few yawning boys while he waited on his breakfast. Hence the two main interests in the undergraduate's life came to be politics and festivities, and he had abundance of both to his hand. Oxford in the early years of the eighteenth century was torn with political strife. The High Tory party were in the ascendancy, for though the arrival of William had at first been welcomed gladly, a reaction soon set in, and, apart from the actual non-jurors, there were hundreds of disaffected Jacobites, graduate and undergraduate. The Whigs were mostly young men of good standing, scions of good Whig families; the Tories were the democracy of the colleges. Riots were

incessant, heads were broken, and property damaged, and the streets were full of ribald Jacobite ballads. So we find Burnet writing in desperation: "The universities, Oxford especially, have been very unhappily successful in corrupting the principles of those who were sent to be bred among them; so that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered." The popularity of the Stuarts continued long after their power had become a thing of the past. William, so they said, was irreligious, a boor and a Dutchman; so their hearts went a wandering after exiled kings. The result was "abominable riots at All Souls" (to quote Hearne); Sacheverell, in his tour through the provinces, was fêted extravagantly, and when the Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, definitely entered the service of the Pretender, Oxford showed her admiration by promptly electing his brother, the Earl of Arran, in his stead. Party bands of mohocks paraded the streets; Hearne says they were all "of the whiggish gang," with a certain Burnet of Merton, a son of the Bishop, at their head. The Jacobites drank health to the Stuarts on their knees and publicly, and the University winked at it. Oxford, as has been said, was the real Jacobite capital of England, the place to which the eyes of honest Squire Westerns turned as the true glory of the nation. "Golgotha," as the *Hebdomadal* was

affectionately called, was of a piece with the rest. It is hard to sympathise with it all, for while the Tory Fellows were drinking in their common-rooms to the king over the water, and doing nothing more, and the noisy undergraduate contenting himself with breaking windows, the poor gentlemen of the North were facing the real danger in the fire of King George's soldiery. It was a very easy loyalty which came in with the port and fled at the sight of arms, and, except for the few who rose with Derwentwater, and one "Leonard Walden, a very worthy young gentleman just fresh from Christ Church," who was taken at Preston, the service of Oxford to the forlorn cause was a thing only of the lips.

The young man from the country who came of good Tory stock found himself in a place after his own heart. He found the Whigs laughed at, kept out of office, punished on the most trivial grounds. He could shirk the oath of allegiance by kissing his thumb instead of the book, while his tutor looked on approvingly. Merton was the Whig college, and happily it had windows to smash and men to persecute. There were taverns for him to sit in accompanied by "honest" folk from All Souls or Brasenose, where all day long he might pass his wine over the water, and toast "Betty of Hearts," or drink "King James, Ormond and Mar," and "Confusion to the Usurper," and "Damn the

Constitutioners,” and “Good fortune to the Good Cause.” The one man of the lot with a sense of humour, Dr. King, the Principal of St. Mary’s Hall, the “tall, lean, well-looking man,” must have now and then laughed silently at this pot-house ardour, for he had been secretary to Ormond and to Arran, and had known some of the true loyalists in the North, who risked their all on a desperate chance and were not afraid.

The life of the poor scholar or the sizar at Brasenose was not in those days a pleasant one, for the cult of the deserving poor had not been discovered. In one of Baker’s comedies, published in 1704, a “gentleman-servitor at *Brazen-Nose* College” is introduced. His name is Chum, and his father is “a chimney-sweeper, and his mother a poor ginger-bread woman at *Cow-cross*.” He waits upon the Gentlemen-Commoners, cleans their shoes and does their compositions. His place in the play is like that of the faithful slave Syrus in Terence ; he personates the rich lover, and wins the maiden Berynthia for his master Smart, receiving for his perquisite a present of 500 guineas. His previous fortune, we are told in the play, was no more than “the reversion of old shoes which Gentlemen-Commoners leave off, two Raggs called shirts, a dog’s eard *Grammar*, and a piece of an *Ovid de Tristibus*.” This was the condition of such an one as George Whitefield,

who in 1728 was a servitor at Pembroke, winning favour there by reason of the experience he had once gained as drawer at his home, the Bell Inn in Gloucester.

But the Smarts of those days were very different personages. Master Gresham of Brasenose would sneer at the antiquated garb of that good man his father a fortnight after he had been deposited from the Banbury coach, a raw country boy. The clean fresh old English life, which was everywhere to be found in the shires, the life of Sir Roger and Lady Prue, and the Sues and Dorothies of many lyrics, somehow became clownish and silly when it came near the fringe of letters. The statesmen and scholars of the better sort lived in a society as nicely polished as could be desired ; but its fringes, both in the literary tavern-life and in the modish Universities, were less agreeable. It would be hard to produce a more foolish creature than the average Oxford Smart. The young gentleman, caned not a month before by the Busby of his time, "in a new suit of drugget, a pair of prim ruffles, a new bobwig and a brazen-hilted sword," now swaggers on the Oxford pavements, and affronts the astonished sun with his finery. He is pulled up at six of a morning by his servitor, and wanders into chapel with a head still misty from much port. Amherst has drawn his portrait without mercy, and it is worth reproduction. Finding

a letter from his father awaiting him in which he is bidden to have a care of his purse, he damns that good person for an "old country putt," and sulks for an hour. By ten his breakfast is over; he practises an air on the flute, and then strolls round to the eighteenth-century Gridiron, Lyne's coffee-house, to see his friends and write a note to his Sylvia. Thereafter he goes for a walk in the Park or the Merton Fields, feeling a monstrous fine fellow, a man o' the world, and at peace with his own soul and all humanity. He dines in his room at one, and then dresses himself out in a silk-lined coat with laced ruffles at breast and wrist, Spanish leather shoes, white stockings, a long flaxen tie-wig, and a laced hat. Mayhap a poor man from Pembroke, Johnson by name, rubs against him in the street, and our exquisite scarcely deigns to glance at so vulgar a being. He has a glass at Hamilton's, and then struts before Sylvia's windows that the girl may see his finery. If he be inclined to sport he may ride on the fine stretch between Oxford and Woodstock, though there is always the chance that some clod-pate highwayman may relieve him of his purse. After he has sauntered into evening chapel, he remembers that the fair Sylvia has asked him to drink a dish of tea with her, and afterwards attend her to Paradise Garden. Thither he goes, and as they walk he tells her some new verses he has made in her honour, which, he flatters himself, run as

equally as Mr. Gay's. He goes home with her to supper, and then on to the Mitre, where he fuddles his head drinking spiced wine in her honour, loses much money at ombre, and retires eventually to rest guided by the firm and tender hands of his more sober friends. If our gentleman have some grains of sense, he soon begins to lament, like young Edward Gibbon of Magdalen, that "his time was lost and his expenses multiplied." If he be a mere scatter-brain he varies his Oxford career with sundry visits to London, where he spends his days in a fashion more varied than reputable, till the Nemesis of it all gets hold of him, and he goes back to his country home to an irate father and a dull future.

Of such a life Brasenose seems to have been a favourite centre. Its High-Toryism and its moderate wealth combined to make it a festive college in an era of festivities. For one thing it seems to have possessed a certain amount of histrionic talent. In 1655 one John Glendall, of Brasenose, *terræ filius* and a great mimic, had acted in several plays "which the scholars before acted by stealth, either in the stone-house behind and southward from Pembroke College, or in Kettle-hall, or at Halywell-mill, or in the refectory at Gloucester-hall" (Antony Wood). Moreover, the College is frequently mentioned in contemporary plays. One instance has been quoted from Baker; another is

to be found in Mrs. Cowley's "Who's the Dupe?" (1779), where the Brasenose scholar called Gradus comes to town wearing "a grizzle wig curled as stiffly as *Sir Cloudesley Shovel's* in the Abbey—a dingy brown coat with vellum button-holes—and cambric enough in his ruffles to make his grandson's shirt." Good cheer seems to have been a characteristic of the place. Amherst in his vitriolic sketch of the colleges declares that "Brasenose engrosses good livings, and brews ale which flies to the seasoned head of an Essex squire; in a play, a man who wishes to be taken for a Fellow of that college has to use a large pillow for a stomach." This agrees with the testimony of Lord Eldon, who tells in his anecdote book how he once saw a Doctor of Divinity trying to make his way to Brasenose through the Radcliffe Square; "he had reached the Library, a rotunda then without railings, and unable to support himself save by keeping one hand on the building, he continued walking round and round till rescued by a friend."

CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE IN MODERN TIMES

OXFORD in the early years of the present century was fortunate in her chroniclers. An astonishing number of memoirs give us some insight into the social life of the place, and the many celebrities who at the time gathered there raise the former provincially modish town into a centre of a more interesting life. She still, to be sure, retained much of her eighteenth-century character. Her learning was not significant, and her manners were much to seek; degrees were still to be had for an old song; and with a few shining exceptions the academic dignitaries were pedantic reactionaries. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who was at Christ Church in 1798, fills his correspondence with abuse of his tutors. Cyril Jackson, his Dean, is pilloried as "an inspired swine, who preached exceeding dry sermons with a prodigious degree of snuffling." Dr. Parr is "composed of insolence and tobacco." In his "New Oxford Guide," which was modelled on the then famous "New Bath Guide" he has small etchings of the various

types which thronged the colleges. There is Master Growler,

“The gentleman commoner gay,
Whom I met at my tutor’s, at breakfast to-day,—
Master Growler, a person of high reputation,
Who dresses and struts in the pink of the fashion,—
And ask’d me to wine in that elegant tone,
As if he had rather have let it alone.”

There is the Welsh baronet, Sir Griffith ap Shenken ap Tudor ap Leek, and the bibliophile Margin, and Bamboozle the humourist, and Dicky Cosmetic the dandy, and “my Lord Rubbish—the son of an earl,” whose portrait is unfortunately unfit for reproduction. Lastly there come

“Tommy Drivel, whose noddle’s a thick one,
And a gentle tuft-worshipper, meek Master Pick-bone,
Who with pleasure will suffer his ears to be cufft
By any Scotch cousin of any Scotch tuft.”

The little society had still much of this stuff in it, but the colleges were awakening, freshmen were coming up distinguished for more than mere capacity for hard drinking, and the way was being prepared for the advent of the athletic spirit, which has been the making of modern Oxford.

These years are in many ways the most interesting in the history of Brasenose. The Principalship of Frod-

sham Hodson was a time full of intellectual and social activity. Mark Pattison, coming up as a freshman with his father to decide upon his college, found the two in highest repute to be Oriel and Brasenose. He chose the former, for the latter filled him with some awe. It was said that men there looked down upon the ordinary dull and industrious scholar, that a brilliant wit was in great demand, and that as a whole the place was extravagant and drunken. Hodson in especial seems to have oppressed his fancy. "Returning to College," he tells us in his *Memoirs*, "after one Long Vacation, Hodson drove the last stage into Oxford with post-horses. The reason he gave for this piece of ostentation was, 'that it should not be said that the first tutor of the first College of the first University of the world entered it with a pair.'" "The story," he adds wickedly, "is symbolical of the high place B. N. C. held in the University at the time, in which, however, intellectual eminence entered far less than the fact that it numbered among its members many gentlemen commoners of wealthy and noble families." But indeed there was no lack of intellectual eminence, and it is this which makes these years so attractive. It is a period of a rich social life, of college clubs, of wine parties where wit was at least of as much importance as wine; and moreover a period when able men lived within the College walls, when Brasenose men were commonly

found in the University prize-lists, when excellent *mots* were circulated everywhere, when a man like Richard Heber would show his keen interest in politics by posting up to town to hear the debates in the House.

The intellectual side of the College life is centred round such men as Heber and Barham, the social round the new club, the Phoenix. Reginald Heber came to Brasenose in 1800. He was sprung from a good old Yorkshire family, the Hebers of Marton Hall, and naturally he turned his eyes to the great Northern college. His career was distinguished enough to satisfy most men ; for in his first year he won the Latin Verse Prize, with a "Carmen Seculare" on the opening of the new century. Two years later he won the Newdigate with his "Palestine," a poem which Dr. Crotch set to music in 1812, and which has been often reprinted. It was probably the most successful prize poem ever written, and to us of to-day who remember its facile prettiness and the utter lack of interest in the recitation of modern Newdigates, it seems strange to hear of the Sheldonian crowded not only at the Encænïa but at the rehearsal the night before, and the audience crazy with delight. In 1805, Heber gained the English Essay, and was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls—the blue ribbon of an Oxford career. Thereafter he leaves Oxford, and some twenty years later, he died at

Trichinopoly while still in his prime, worn out with the immense labours of the see of Calcutta.

The Newdigate Poem is associated with a story in which Sir Walter Scott plays a part. In that year Scott had paid a visit to London, and accompanied by his friend Richard Heber, the famous book-collector, proceeded afterwards to Oxford. He breakfasted with his friend's half-brother Reginald in his rooms in Brasenose, where the young man read to the now-famous writer the verses which had gained the prize. His rooms were one pair left on staircase No. 6, a square high room with one window looking on the Lane and one on the Radcliffe Square, and darkened by the great chestnut in Exeter Gardens, which is still called Heber's Tree. Lockhart tells the story : "Scott observed that, in the verses on Solomon's Temple, one striking circumstance had escaped him, namely, that no tools were used in the erection. Reginald retired for a few minutes to the corner of the room, and returned with the beautiful lines ;—

"No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.
Majestic silence !"

This was not the only occasion on which Sir Walter came to Brasenose. In the November of 1826 he came to Oxford to visit his son. The passage from Lockhart

is worth setting down (1837, vi. 391), as a pathetic commentary on the former visit. "Breakfasted with Charles in his chambers at Brazen-nose, where he had everything very neat. How pleasant it is for a father to sit at his child's board! It is like the aged man reclining under the shadow of the oak which he has planted. My poor plant has some storms to undergo, but were the expedition conducive to no more than his entrance into life under suitable auspices, I should consider the toil and the expense well-bestowed. We then sallied out to see the lions. Remembering the ecstatic feelings with which I visited Oxford more than twenty-five years since, I was surprised at the comparative indifference with which I revisited the same scenes. Reginald Heber, then composing his Prize Poem, and imping his wings for a long flight of honourable distinction, is now dead in a foreign land—Hodgson and other able men all entombed. The towers and halls remain, but the voices which fill them are of modern days. Besides, the eye becomes saturated with sights, as the full soul loathes the honey-comb. I admired indeed, but my admiration was void of enthusiasm." Nor can we wonder. If the "sun upon the Weir-law Hill" and Ettrickdale and Yarrow had lost their power to charm the wearied man, how should the trim gardens and ivied walls of Oxford succeed! Later Scott read Heber's "Narrative of a Journey

through Upper India," and we find this entry in his Journal (vol. ii. p. 250). "I read Reginald Heber's Journal after dinner. I spent some merry days with him at Oxford while he was writing his prize poem. He was then a gay young fellow, a wit, and a satirist, and burning for literary fame. My laurels were beginning to bloom, and we were both madcaps. Who would have foretold our future lot?"

" 'Oh, little did my mother ken
The day she cradled me,
The land I was to travel in,
Or the death I was to die.' "

Of the other Brasenose men of the period who gave to the College its reputation in letters, the most famous were Richard Harris Barham, the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, and Henry Hart Milman, who afterwards became Dean of St. Paul's. Barham entered Brasenose at nineteen as a gentleman-commoner, and was soon elected a member of the Phoenix Common Room. His chief friends seem to have been Lord George Grenville (afterwards Lord Nugent), Cecil Tattersall, the friend of Byron and Shelley, and Theodore Hook. His intimacy with the last named was cut short by that gentleman's retirement from the University—an event which had nearly happened at the beginning of his course owing to his generous offer to

subscribe not only to thirty-nine but to forty articles if he should be so requested. One story of Barham's college days is still told, and seems worth repeating. Frodsham Hodson on one occasion politely asked him to account for his continued absence from morning chapel.

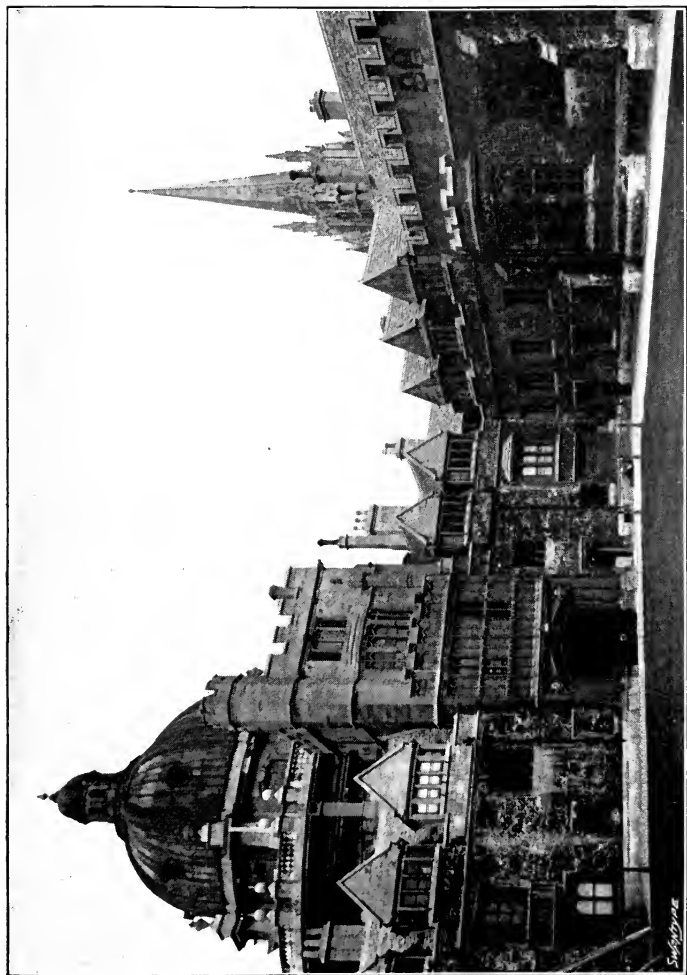
"The fact is, sir," said Barham, "you are too *late* for me."

"Too late!" repeated the amazed tutor.

"Yes, sir. I cannot sit up till seven o'clock in the morning. I am a man of regular habits; and unless I get to bed by four or five at latest, I am really fit for nothing next day."

Milman's college career was graver and more distinguished. He won the Newdigate in 1812 with a poem on "Apollo Belvidere," which Dean Stanley considered with justice to be the most perfect of Oxford prize poems. He afterwards won the English Essay, and was elected in 1814 to a Fellowship at his own college. As an intimate friend of Heber, he wrote several of his best hymns for his Hymnal.

To turn to the other side of college life, we find it exemplified in the beginning of the famous Phoenix Common Room in 1781 or 1782. It is by far the oldest social club in the University, and was founded during the Principalship of Thomas Barker, just before the dawn of the College prosperity. The founder was a



From a photograph by the

OLD QUADRANGLE

FROM THE WEST

[Oxford Camera Club

certain Joseph Alderson, who subsequently migrated to Cambridge, and became a Fellow of Trinity. The membership was and always has been limited to twelve; they dine together nominally once a week—dinners of which the fullest records are preserved; and they wear a club dress of brown and yellow. Of the members on its roll, many were afterwards distinguished in different walks of life. Five of the original twelve became Fellows of colleges, and among later names we find Frodsham Hodson, Lord Valentia, Lord Fortescue, Reginald Heber, Lord George Grenville, Barham, Richard Harington, who became Principal in 1842, the famous “S. G. O.” (Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne), and the present Dean of Rochester. No dining-club has so distinguished a history, and few have kept so near to the traditions of their foundation. It was a member of the Phoenix who played the chief part in Heber’s humorous poem, the *Whippiad*, of which a slightly inaccurate version was published in the fifty-fourth volume of Blackwood’s Magazine (1843). The story is briefly given in the introductory note. “A certain friend of Heber’s, Bernard Port, was found cracking a four-horse whip in the quadrangle, to the immense disgust of a certain doctor, a fellow and tutor and at that time also dean of the College, commonly called Dr. Toe from a defect in one of his feet. This gentleman had made himself obnoxious to most of those

of his own college by his absurd conduct and regulations. On the following day Mr. Port again cracked the whip in the quadrangle, whereupon the doctor issued from his rooms in great wrath, and after remonstrating with Mr. Port and endeavouring to take the whip from him, a scuffle ensued in which the whip was broken, and the doctor overpowered and thrown down by the victorious Port, who had fortunately taken his degree of Master of Arts."

The opening of the poem is in the true heroical style:—

"Where whiten'd Cain the curse of Heaven defies,
And leaden slumber seals his brother's eyes,
Where o'er the porch in brazen splendour glows
The vast projection of the mystic nose,
Triumph erewhile of Bacon's fabled arts,
Now well-hung symbol of the student's parts ;
'Midst those unhallow'd walls and gloomy cells
Where everything but Contemplation dwells,
Dire was the feud our sculptur'd Alfred saw,
And thy grim-bearded bust, Erigena."

It seems that in Brasenose it had been the habit to set impositions by linear measure, so the irate doctor cries as he hastens to the culprit that "six ells of Virgil shall the crime repair." The end comes suddenly:—

"Till now the Dean, with throat extended wide,
And faltering shout, for speedy succour cried

To them who in yon grateful cell repose
 Where Greenland odours feast the stranger's nose—
 'Scouts, porters, shoe-blacks, whatsoe'er your trade,
 All, all, attend, your master's fist to aid!'
 They heard his voice, and, trembling at the sound,
 The half-breech'd legions swarm'd like moths around ;
 But, ah ! the half-breech'd legions, call'd in vain,
 Dismay'd and useless, fill'd the cumber'd plain ;
 And while for servile aid the Doctor calls,
 By Port subverted, prone to earth he sprawls."

The author adds a wicked note: "'Procumbit humi bos.' This is not the first time the Doctor has been overcome by *port*."

This unfortunate "Doctor Toe" seems to have been the butt of his generation. He is lampooned by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and a letter in the same volume of *Maga* adds still another page to his fame. "As an appendage to the *Whippiad*," says the writer, "the following *jeu d'esprit*, attributed to the same pen, may not be unacceptable. The young lady to whom Dr. Toe's attentions were supposed to have been paid was a certain Miss Bell H——, who eventually jilted the Doctor and married her footman ; a circumstance which gave rise to the following stanzas:—

"'Twixt footman John and Doctor Toe
 A rivalry befell,
 Which of the two should be the Beau
 To bear away the *Belle* !

The Footman won the lady's heart,
And who can blame her?—No man.
The *whole* prevailed against the *part* :
'Twas *Foot-man versus Toe-man.*' "

But the club which rose to the greatest notoriety in the College in the early century was undoubtedly the Hell-fire Club, which ran a brief but glorious course from 1828 to 1834. There was no connection, as some have supposed, between this doubtful institution and the eminently respectable Phoenix. At the time clubs of this name were common in the country. Scotland had several, from which Stevenson seems to have got the idea of his Suicide Club, and all were weak imitations of the famous Medmenham revels half a century before. It met twice a week, and apparently some four or five men from other Colleges were admitted as members. It met in rooms on the left hand at the foot of Staircase VI., a dark and melancholy place even in the daytime, for the great chestnut in Exeter Gardens quite overshadows it. The windows look out on Brasenose Lane, which is still a dismal, lonely place, with its high dead-wall on one side, and the iron-barred windows of the College on the other. In those days it was, if possible, more dreary, except on market-days, when the country-folk would stack their empty carts along it, forty in a row, close under the wall. Here the club held its unholy revels till the death of the President

from delirium tremens in 1834 brought the thing to an abrupt end. This, and the fact that a woman died in the Lane on Dec. 5, 1827,* after having been given brandy out of a Brasenose window, laid the foundation of what has been perhaps the most remarkable and enduring of College myths. It has been presented in many forms (F. G. Lee's *Glimpses of the Supernatural*, 1872, vol. ii. p. 207; Blackwood's Mag., Feb. 1891), and the tale is told at length in a curious book called *Odds and Ends*, published in 1872 by W. Maskell, Vicar of Marychurch in Devon.

"Between eleven and twelve o'clock one night in December," says Mr. Maskell, "nearly at the end of term, Mr. — (afterwards Archdeacon —), then Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, was returning home along the Lane. As he walked towards the College, he saw a tall man, seemingly wrapt up in a long cloak, standing before the window of one of the ground-floor rooms. When he got nearer, the tutor observed that they were the rooms of an undergraduate of bad reputation and known to be one of the most

* A full account of both circumstances is to be found in the Vice-Principal's Register. The name of the President was Edward Leigh Trafford, who matriculated in 1832 and died March 3, 1834. We find also this entry: "31 Jan. 1828. H. J. Radcliffe, having admitted that he gave to Ann Crutchley on the evening of the 5th of December intoxicating liquors from one of the windows of this College, Resolved, that being now absent he be not allowed to return till after the Long Vacation."

active members of the Hell-fire Club. He saw also that the person outside was helping some one to get out of College through the window. With the natural impulse of a 'don' Mr. — hurried forwards, hoping to secure both in the act. But—as he himself afterwards said—he was seized with a sudden terror, why or wherefore at the moment he could scarcely tell,—and he declared that before he could get quite close he knew with a positive conviction that it was no man, no human being, who stood upon the pavement. As he rushed by, the occupant of the rooms, the notorious member of the infamous club, was being slowly and strugglingly drawn through the wire netting and through the iron bars. Mr. — recognised the young man, notwithstanding the agony and amazement by which his countenance was disturbed. It was but a few steps to the College gate round the corner of the Lane ; but Mr. —, half fainting with horror, could scarcely reach it and knock at the door for entrance before he fell senseless on the ground. At the moment that the porter opened the gate there came also a cry and a rush of men from one of the rooms on the right hand of the quadrangle. There had been a meeting of the Hell-fire Club, and in the very middle of one of his own blasphemous speeches, the owner of the rooms, who was the president for the night, had broken a blood-vessel, and fallen dead upon the floor."

It is a spirited and well-found legend, but I have heard a variant which made the meeting-place Heber's old rooms on the first floor. There the Enemy of Mankind appeared in all his winged terrors, and decamped over the Bodleian, pulling the unfortunate gentleman by the hair. But doubtless the version given above is the correct one, for who could doubt the eye-witness of Mr. — (afterwards Archdeacon —) ?

With the close of Dr. Gilbert's Principalship what may very well be called the classical age of Brasenose comes to an end. It is interesting to look back upon it as enshrined—with much more that is quaint and curious—in the *Recollections* of a former Esquire-Bedell, Mr. Cox of New College, published in 1868. We have glimpses of a merry life among the authorities, when it was proposed that the gentlemen of the Brasenose Senior Common Room should be called in to decide a fierce dispute between New College and All Souls, as to which produced the better hot negus, which they called *bishop*. We hear of the fanciful taste in dress which characterised the young Brasenose "smart" of the day, one like Lord George Grenville, as he appears in Deighton's caricature, "A View from B. N. C. Gateway." Portraits are given us of the great Brasenose Principals, Cleaver and Hodson. Cleaver was "a tall man with good features and a stately gait; 'he looked' (as the old Brasenose porter used to say) 'quite the Bishop.' The effect, too, was not

a little increased by a habit of walking with both his hands upon his chest, and those hands, as in the portrait, made conspicuous by gloves of bright Bishop's-purple." Of his predecessor in the Principalship, Dr. Barker, our diarist has little to say except that "he was the brother of the butler of Brasenose, a respectable old man who lived in a small house in what was then Cat Street." Frodsham Hodson had "the rare advantage of a good figure, handsome countenance, and winning address." But the great man had moments of relaxation; he had a large family of children, "and," says the solemn Mr. Cox, "it was a pleasing sight to see them clinging to him as he left home for Convocation, when he would gently shake them off, with 'Away, ye dear little encumbrances.'" He has one further personal recollection to tell:—"On his going up to Court with an Address, as Vice-Chancellor, I heard him remind Sir Robert Peel (at St. James's) of his having examined him for his Degree,—adding, 'My fellow-examiners accused me of flattering you, or, at least, putting a bad pun into your mouth,—when I selected for your *vivâ-voce* construing the passage in Virgil,—

'Referes ergo hæc et nuntius ibis
Pelidæ genitori,' etc."

Of Mr. Tench of Brasenose, Proctor for the year 1800, we have a less flattering account. "He was at

once pronounced to be an odd fish, when he came up after some years' absence from Oxford, wearing a vulgar-looking, powdered, one-curved wig, speaking with a strong Lancashire dialect, and reading with a voice of thunder: indeed his enunciation of the oaths and exhortations on Degree-days was an awful infliction on the drum of one's ear."

Full justice, too, is done to the very real intellectual life in the College. "In the Easter Public Examination of this year (1809), Brasenose College monopolised the highest honours, the only three First-class men being all of that college." A Mr. Dunbar of Brasenose became Curator of the Ashmolean Museum in 1815, "a clever, amusing person, of good family, whose witticisms (rather studied and elaborate) were occasionally circulated." Finally the Esquire-Bedell records that on November 11 of the year 1848 "my colleague, having died, was succeeded in the office by Mr. Harrison, B.A. of Brasenose."

In the Tractarian Movement, and the whole theological war which convulsed Oxford for years, we find scarcely any record of interest shown by the College and its members. The fact is stranger when we remember that, though partially a lay-foundation, the whole tone and temper of the place had always been reactionary and mediæval in matters of faith. But the period of prosperity in the early century seems to have laid the

foundation of a healthy secular spirit which kept it free from the ecstasy and bitterness of the time. The one theological disputant whom the College succeeded in producing during the troubled years was a Mr. Garbett, who "preached a sermon at St. Mary's, in which a busy member of Convocation (Mr. Knollys of Magdalen) thought he detected something heretical." So the case was brought before the Vice-Chancellor, but he, like an honest man, "having had enough of such inquiries, dismissed the *delator* with the remark that he had observed nothing objectionable in the sermon unless it were its great length." The same Mr. Garbett turns up again as the author of a "*lengthy* pamphlet" (*length* seems to have been his forte) against Ward's famous book, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*.

The actual social life of the time—which is the proper subject of the chapter—is difficult to write of from its very closeness to the present. Stories have lost the reality of gossip and have not yet been dignified into traditions. One can gather something from the two little volumes of Ale Verses, which are to us of to-day the sole reminder of a vanished custom. Every Shrove Tuesday, the Butler of the College presented a copy of English verse on Brasenose ale to the Principal, and received a sum of money. The poems were composed by some undergraduate or other,

and the collection * is fairly continuous from the years 1826 to 1889, when a Latin requiem was also published by a Fellow of the College over the death of the old rite. Till 1886 Brasenose brewed its own beer, but in that year the old brew-house was removed to make room for the new buildings. The verses are crowded with contemporary allusions, political, literary, sporting and academical. Many of them are entirely execrable, such as that in which Heber is saluted as "Bishop of Calcutta," and informed in the next line that his name without reverence the author dare not "utter." But some even now amuse us when the allusions have been forgotten, and the forgotten allusions themselves have a certain quaint and pathetic charm. Dons are chaffed for their convivial reputations; sconces—a custom no longer obtaining—are referred to; bad puns, classical and otherwise, are everywhere. We hear of a Fancy Dress and Polka Ball given at Brasenose on January 30, 1845. There is a bitter cry against the passing of the Tests Abolition Act, and awful visions are conjured up of the College a prey to "satanic Liberalism" and the "rankling venom of Dissent." A Brasenose speaker of the time at the Union is thus pilloried. The poet is addressing Beer:—

"Inspired by thee see issue forth in state
The mighty leader of the fierce debate;

* Certain odd sets for the year 1709 are preserved in Hearne, ii. p. 327 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

With studied attitude he takes his stand,
 Serenely silly, and grotesquely grand.
 With rapid gesture and with speed immense,
 Heedless alike of grammar and of sense,
 He fires away, and boobies round him sit
 Who kindly laugh at all his borrowed wit."

The College successes on the river and in the cricket-field are commemorated in flowing strains, and the names of athlete and scholar are punned on with commendable assiduity. Moore, Byron, Tennyson, and Swinburne are parodied, according to the fashion of the day. Here is the inevitable "Dolores" version :

"O lips full of youth and of laughter,
 Gay lips that shall sing and not grieve,
 Drink hard lest glad others come after,
 To drink what you languidly leave.
 Not Trinity, Magdalen, nor Merton,
 Thus, thus your soft souls can regale,
 O better, more bitter, than Burton,
 Our Brasenose Ale !"

But the best in the collection are the three sets written by Mr. Humphrey Ward. The last verses in the copy for 1869 are in the true spirit of a ballad of Thackeray's

"With laughter loud and trickling tears
 My memory brings before me
 The frantic hopes, the foolish fears,

The odd adventures of the years
Which Time has wafted o'er me.

Oh ! Brasenose Ale, I shrewdly guess,
You, if you have a conscience,
To many blunders must confess,
To many hours of idleness,
And failures in Responsions.

But then again, no doubt, could you
Tell us a cheerful story
Of cricket triumphs won by few,
Of bumps achieved by gallant crew,
And gowns put on with glory.

What gleeful evenings you inspired !
What festive little dinners !
How often was your aid required
To celebrate the speed untired
Of fleet-foot Brasenose winners !

How oft you helped us at the boats,
For which we have to thank you !
How many high and tuneful notes
Did you elicit from the throats
Of gentlemen who drank you !

To make an old quotation new,—
' Beer is than water thicker ' ;
Yet I must say good-bye to you,
Good-bye, my friend so tried and true,
Incomparable liquor !"

Of the later years of the College history we cannot write at length. It is pre-eminently a sporting record, and as such will be treated in another chapter. The rise of athleticism was the dawn of a new era for the College, and ever since in every sport—on the river and on the track, in the cricket-field and in the football-field—she has been worthily represented. The sturdy north-country stock from which she drew her members, and the vigorous corporate spirit which was always present, made her name famous in outdoor sports, and, when all has been said, it is likely that this is the highest praise which a college can attain to, for it means that the life within her walls is manly and wholesome, and that, if the minor moralities get scant respect, there is abundant reverence for the greater virtues of pluck, endurance and good-temper. But there is more than this, for though the College won great academic success only in short and brilliant periods with wide intervals between, there was yet always a respectable sprinkling of Firsts. If she was not always “foremost in the schools” as well as “first upon the River,” as the Ale-poet sang, she yet could show a creditable record.

If we turn to the other side of the undergraduate’s intellectual life, the College literary club and the College debating society, we find a certain activity. The Brasenose Debating Society, after a glorious but chequered

career, came to an end a few years ago, and its place has been taken by a Society, called the *Sutton* after one of the Founders, which began in 1895. The purely literary Essay Club, called the *Ingoldsby*, may fairly claim to be one of the oldest of its kind in Oxford. The first meeting was held on February 18, 1879, and the first President was Mr. E. R. H. Tatham. Twenty years in a place so full of evanescent societies is a hoary age for an Essay Club. The *Ingoldsby*, through wisely maintaining the custom of having only one officer at a time and electing him for a year, has been free from the small rivalries which perplex kindred societies, and the papers read before it have preserved a tradition of liberal culture. In another field of undergraduate distinction, the debates at the Union, the College has been prominent. Apart from minor offices, the President's chair has been filled on nine occasions by Brasenose men—by D. C. Wrangham (afterwards Serjeant-at-law and M.P. for Sudbury) in 1826, by W. E. Buckley (afterwards Professor of Anglo-Saxon) in 1839, by J. G. Cazenove, the late Provost of Cumbrae College, in 1845, by D. C. Lathbury in 1855, by J. Oakley in 1856, by T. R. Halcombe in 1857, by R. A. Germaine in 1878, by G. O. Bellewes in 1885, and by P. J. Macdonell in 1895.

CHAPTER V

THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS AND PROPERTIES

I.—THE QUADRANGLES.

✓ THE old Quadrangle of Brasenose remains to-day very much as it was in the beginning, save that a second story was added in the reign of James I., an addition which did not, as at New College, spoil the proportions of the old buildings. The Hall and the tower remained the same as before. In some places unfortunately the beautiful old mullioned windows have been removed, and flat modern ones set in their place. The Principal's lodgings, as was common in all colleges, were at first above the gateway, but in 1770 a separate house was assigned for his use. Above the entrance to Staircase I. is the copy of the original inscription on the foundation-stone already referred to. Above the entrance to the Hall are two worn and grotesque busts of King Alfred, the reputed founder of the ancient Hall, and Duns Scotus, who was once believed to have been a student; but now unfortunately it is impossible to decide which

is the King and which is "thy grim-bearded bust, Erigena."

At present the centre of the quadrangle is filled with a square grass-plot, but in early days its place was occupied by a fantastic maze, which is engraved in Loggan's view of the College in 1675. It seems to have been surrounded with some sort of wall, otherwise it is hard to see what would prevent the happy undergraduate from losing himself irrevocably in its recesses of an evening when he was making merry. The maze was removed in October 1727 and its place taken by a statue of Cain and Abel which Dr. George Clarke bought in London. Hearne loses all patience when he thinks of the "silly statue" which displaced the greenery. It was at one time believed to be an original by Giovanni da Bologna, but, says Mr. Madan, "external evidence points to its being only a copy of the valuable original presented to Charles I. at Madrid, and by George III. to the great-grandfather of the present possessor, Sir William Worsley, of Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire." The statue seems to have been a strange perversion of the Scriptural fact, for Cain, as we learn from many a *jeu d'esprit*, was painted a shining white. Occasionally, too, so runs the story, both figures would be habited in odd raiment and coloured red by sportive gentlemen of the College. It was removed in 1881 and afterwards destroyed.

The old quadrangle has always seemed to me one of the most perfect in Oxford. It has no magnificent proportions like Tom Quad in Christ Church, nor has it the wealth of greenery which beautifies the Garden Quadrangles at New College or Magdalen. The buildings are simple and unadorned and with no pretensions to great architectural beauty. On the northern side there is a huge sun-dial painted on the wall which is by no means a thing for the eye to delight in. But the place has a simplicity and freshness and a perfect form which are all its own. The great chestnut which rises over its north walls, the dome of the Radcliffe and the many towers of All Souls charm by contrast with its austerity. When the sun is shining of a morning or a late afternoon it is a pleasant place to dwell in, pleasant with a comfort quite apart from ivied walls and shady garden places. There is a cleanness and a freshness in the whole air of the little quadrangle which are somewhat rare qualities in the lushness of Oxford. In the month of March and in the clear spring sunlight it is at its best; in summer, if one must speak the truth, there is apt to be a glare from the entire absence of shadow. But the finest view here, as at Melrose, is by moonlight, and he who has once seen from the north-western corner the silvery gleam on the Radcliffe and the spire of St. Mary's and the green shadows on the turf is not likely to forget it.

Through the archway on the left as one enters the College is the way to the second quadrangle, which dates from the building of the new chapel and library in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a little old-fashioned place, with the kitchen to the west, the chapel to the south, and the Hall to the north; part is in grass and part is planted with shrubs. For some reason or other it is always known as the Deer-Park, though the most ascetic of deer could not pick up a living from its narrow confines. Up till 1807 the eastern side was a cloister beneath the Library, where many old members of the College were buried; but now the cloisters have disappeared except in name, and are occupied by sets of rooms. The change dates back to the passing of a Statute of Convocation forbidding residence out of College. Only two courses were open: either to reduce the number of members, or increase the accommodation; so the College chose the latter, and turned the cloisters into rooms. It appears, from the entry in the Vice-Principal's register* which records the change, that at that time the Deer-Park was known as the Fellows Garden.

To the south-west of the Deer-Park lies the New Quadrangle with a gateway on the south which opens on the High Street. When in the beginning of last century the College bought the houses between St.

* See Appendix F.

Mary's Entry and All Saints' Church it immediately began to plan a frontage to the High Street. Nicholas Hawksmoor, who built the High Street front of Queen's, made some hideous designs for the buildings in a similar style, which were engraved in Williams's *Oxonia* and the *Oxford Almanack* of 1723, and were fortunately not accepted. One can very well imagine how ill the florid classical style would harmonise with the simple Hall and the old buildings. Sir John Soane, in 1807, and Philip Hardwick, in 1810, also prepared designs, but it was not till recent years that a pure Gothic design was accepted from Mr. T. G. Jackson. By the end of 1887 a new quadrangle was practically formed, consisting of a gateway and tower, a Principal's house, and a considerable number of rooms, one of which is now used as Junior Common Room. This is practically what the author of the Brasenose chapter in the *Memorials of Oxford* had suggested—"an embattled tower-gateway, with chambers on one side and the Principal's lodgings on the other." At the south-west corner there is still a small gap left, and it is to be hoped that the College will soon see its way to complete the quadrangle by continuing the buildings on this vacant space.

The New Quadrangle is filled with flower-beds and small grass-plots, the walls are covered with creepers, and, generally, it is a bright and attractive place,

though far enough from the quaint distinction of the older quads. It is the scene of bonfires on red-letter days, for there is space enough free from grass for a huge fire; and æsthetic souls rejoice at the beautiful illumination of St. Mary's spire; while festive bodies now and then come near cremation.

II.—THE CHAPEL.

The old Chapel was in what is probably the oldest part of the College buildings—the south-west corner of the old quadrangle; it was on the first floor of Staircase I., the room now used as a Senior Common Room. The curious may still see from the kitchen yard traces on the walls of the old Chapel windows. The foundation-stone of the new Chapel was laid on the 26th of June in the year 1656, and the site chosen was to the south of the Deer-Park. Dr. Samuel Radcliffe, who was ejected by the Parliamentarians from the Principalship, contributed the large sum of £1850 to the new edifice. It took ten years to build, and it was consecrated to St. Hugh and St. Chad by Bishop Blandford on the 17th of November 1666; the same bishop having consecrated the new Chapel of University College the year before. The name of the architect is unknown, but tradition ascribes it to Sir Christopher Wren, and certainly it resembles his work. The roof, which is a remarkably fine piece of fan-tracery, is said to have

come originally from the chapel of St. Mary's College ; and supporters of this view urge in its defence the two facts, that the roof does not quite fit, and that the chief beams, as well as the rafters of the western part of the Hall, are numbered consecutively as if they had all been brought from one building. The architecture is a curious mixture of Greek and Gothic, but not unpleasant. The large West window was gifted by Principal Cawley in 1776, and on the north side there is a memorial window to F. W. Robertson of Brighton. In the ante-chapel a mural tablet with medallions has lately been inserted in memory of Walter Pater. There is no special value or interest in the Chapel furniture. There are two pictures, one an old copy of Spagnoletto's Entombment of Christ, and the other a copy of Poussin's Assumption of St. Paul. The handsome brass eagle at the lectern was given by a T. L. Dummer in 1731. The two candelabra have only recently been restored to their present place, having in past time been presented by the College to Coleshill Church in Buckinghamshire. The most precious possession is a pair of chalices with pattens, which date from before the Reformation.

The place is a good example of an average College chapel, but in no way specially remarkable, and most unlike the magnificent buildings of New College, Magdalen, or All Souls. The East window looks on the



From a photograph by the]

[Oxford Camera Club

INTERIOR OF CHAPEL.



Radcliffe Square, and there is said to be a beautiful effect obtainable on summer evenings from the square, when the sun shines through both West and East windows. But this is a sight which the present writer has not had the good fortune to witness.

III.—THE HALL.

The Hall remains much as it was at the foundation. It is a high, well-proportioned building, with many of its windows decorated with the arms of the founders and benefactors. In the North window at the east end are portraits of Smyth and Sutton, and a face with a grotesque nose, of which the ornament above the College gateway may be a copy. The South window over the dais has a history connected with it. In the early years of the century Louis XVIII. of France visited Oxford and lunched in Brasenose Hall. So “to record that event so honourable to the Society by the erection of some appropriate monument,” on April 26, 1821, this window was inserted. It shows in the two central compartments the arms of England and France surmounted by their proper crowns, and flanked by the Orders of the Garter and the Holy Ghost. Elsewhere are emblazoned the arms of the Principal then in office, and of the Founders of the College.* Till the middle of last century the old open fireplace in the centre was

* See Appendix F.

retained, and the louvre or lantern above is still in existence, though hidden by the ceiling. In 1760 the Hon. Ashton Curzon (afterwards Lord Curzon) of Clitherow in Lancashire, a former member of the College, gave the present chimney-piece. It contains his coat-of-arms* and "A. C." the initials of his name. At the far end the famous Brazen Nose hangs in a frame; it was brought from Stamford in 1890, after the site of the Hall there with the gateway and knocker had been purchased by the College.

The walls, after the fashion of college halls, are hung with portraits. There are none of any great artistic value, like the few choice pictures which redeem Balliol Hall, nor are there any of extraordinary historic interest. In the middle of the East wall there is a glaring modern presentment of King Alfred, who seems to be common property among Oxford colleges. He was the reputed founder of Little University Hall, and some good folk have supposed that the "King's Hall" in the proper designation of the College contains a reference to him.† The picture is flanked by portraits of Smyth and Sutton,

* Argent, on a bend sable three Popinjays or, collared gules; a crescent for difference. *Crest*; a Popinjay rising, or, collared gules. Cypher A.C.

† "There is a spot in the centre of the city where Alfred is said to have lived, and which may be called the native place or river-head of three separate societies still existing, University, Oriel, and Brasenose, *Brasenose claims his palace*, Oriel his church, and

and next the Bishop hangs Joyce Frankland, the eminent benefactress,* a quaint and solemn lady with an antique watch in her hand. The other portraits are of Cleaver, Frodsham Hodson, Thomas Baron Ellesmere, Dr. John Latham, John Lord Mordaunt, Samuel Radcliffe, Sarah Duchess of Somerset, Robert Burton, Thomas Yate, Francis Yarborough, Ashurst Turner Gilbert, and Edward Hartopp Cradock. The portrait of the first Marquis of Buckingham, which once hung here, is now restored to the family. Of the more modern portraits, the best are those of Hodson and Cradock; many of the others have that flat and photographic air which is fatal to a picture. But our favourite among them all is the little one of Alexander Nowell, which hangs on the far right of the East wall. Izaak Walton himself has written of Nowell's portrait in words which demand quotation :—

“The good old man (though he was very learned, yet knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many nor by hard questions), like an honest angler made that good,

University his school or academy. Of these, Brasenose College is still called in its formal style ‘The King's Hall,’ which is the name by which Alfred himself in his laws calls his palace; and it has its present singular name from a corruption of *brasinium* or *brasin-huse*, as having been originally located in that part of the royal mansion which was devoted to the then important accommodation of a brew-house.”—From a Review of Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford* in the *British Critic*, vol. xxiv. p. 139. This seems the high-water mark of absurdity.

* See Appendix E.

plain, and unperplexed catechism, which is printed with our good old service books. I say, this good old man was a dear lover and constant practiser of angling as any age can produce; and his custom was to spend, besides his fixed hours of prayer (those hours, which by command of the Church were ordained the clergy, and voluntarily dedicated to devotion by many primitive Christians), I say, beside those hours, this good man was observed to spend a tenth part of his time in angling, and also (for I have conversed with those who have conversed with him) to bestow a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish, amongst the poor that inhabited near to those rivers in which it was caught, saying often ‘that charity gave life to religion’; and, at his return to his house, would praise God he had spent that day free from worldly trouble; both harmlessly, and in recreation that became a Churchman. And this good man was well content, if not desirous, that posterity should know he was an angler, as may appear by his picture now to be seen and carefully kept, in Brasen-nose College (to which he was a liberal benefactor). In which picture he was drawn, leaning on a desk, with his Bible before him, and on one hand of him his lines, hooks, and other tackling lying in a round; and on his other hand are his angle rods of several sorts, and by them this is written, ‘That he died 13 Feb. 1601, being aged 95 years, 44 of which he had been Dean of St. Paul’s Church; and that his age had neither impaired his hearing nor dimmed his eyes, nor weakened his memory, nor made any of the faculties of his mind weak or useless.’ ’Tis said that angling and temperance were great causes of these bless-

ings, and I wish the like to all that imitate him, and love the memory of so good a man."

IV.—THE LIBRARY.

The original Library of the College was on Staircase IV., one pair to the right, with its windows facing the old Chapel. In early Spartan days, when men rose with the sun and read through the morning hours, it was well that library windows should look east and west to catch the light. But with the sixteenth century idler habits came in, and the windows faced north and south as in the first Brasenose Library. After the Restoration east and west came into favour again, and so we find in the present Library a return to the first mode. The old Library is now used as a lecture-room, and still retains a handsome ceiling panelled in red and gold. The new building owes its existence to the architectural activity which possessed the College in Restoration times: the date of its completion is 1663, and it is, of course, attributed to Sir Christopher Wren. It forms the eastern side of the Deer-Park, adjoining the Chapel, and with an outlook on the Radcliffe Square. When Principal Yarborough, who died in 1770, bequeathed his large collection of books to his College, it became necessary to re-arrange the Library. The chains, which up to that time had bound the volumes, were removed, and in 1780 the interior was fitted up under the direc-

tion of a Mr. Wyat at the same time and in the same style as the Libraries of New College, Oriel, and Balliol. A year ago a further reform was effected, and by the introduction of tables and desks it was made to serve as an undergraduates' reading-room.

The Library has received many donations since the founder, Bishop Smith, increased the small collection of Edmund Croston by adding his own library. John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, contributed his share, and down to the middle of the seventeenth century a large number of theological* and controversial works were added. In the reign of James I., Dr. Henry Mason, who died in 1647, gave so valuable a collection that it was then estimated at £1000. The Library was further increased by Principal Yarborough's bequest, which contained not only an unique collection of the theological literature of the eighteenth century, but also the classical library and the manuscript notes of Christopher Wasse of Queens' College, Cambridge, the would-be rival of Bentley. Dr. Thomas Barker, rector of West Shefford, who was Principal in 1777, contributed £300 to assist in refitting the Library; and, in 1725, Dr.

* Extract from the Will of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's; "I do give to the library of *Brasen-nose College* in Oxford, the thirteen centuries of the Ecclesiastical History begun at Magdeburge, and the great Greek Lexicon of Henry Stephanus in three volumes strongly bound and armed, and all the History of Martyrs written by Mr. John Foxe in ten volumes of the best paper and fair bound."

Grimbaldson left £1000 as endowment "to buy books at the choice of the Principal and Senior Fellows, annually on the twenty-fourth day of June."

The Library is not rich in treasures, but it is a good specimen of an average college collection, and it affords an interesting commentary on the temper and fashions of Brasenose in past times. It is specially rich in theological literature and pamphlets; and its store of county histories and works on local antiquities is respectable. There is a collection of Brasenose authors, more than four hundred in number, made by Mr. Buckley. Of late years the historical side has been well developed, and under its new *régime* it is likely that it will be kept well up to date. In all it possesses something over fifteen thousand volumes. Its few rarities I transcribe from Mr. Madan's list. Among MSS. there is a tenth-century Terence, which once belonged to Cardinal Bembo, and the only MS. of Bishop Pearson's minor works. There is an illuminated folio missal of 1520, with a miniature of Sir Richard Sutton. Finally, there is a vellum copy of Aristotle's *De Animâ* (Oxford 1481), a Cranmer's Litany of 1544, and a Day's Psalter of 1563. There are no pictures, but two busts, one of Lord Grenville by Nollekens, and one of Bishop Kaye.

V.—THE KITCHEN AND BUTTERY.*

The Kitchen is not a famous curiosity as at Christ Church, but it is probably as old as any part of the College. It forms the west side of the Deer-Park, and in former times was a sacrosanct place of mystery which the scholar entered at the peril of fines. The Buttery, which is beside the Hall, contains several portraits, notably one of the famous Child of Hale, the hero after whom the Brasenose boat is always named. The Child was a Lancashire man, one John Middleton, who was nine feet three inches high, and whose hand was seventeen inches long. In 1617 he went to the Court of King James, where he wrestled with the King's wrestler and put out his thumb; a feat for which he received a royal present of £20. He returned by way of Oxford, and "there being many Lancashire students in Brasenose College at the time, his likeness was taken, and still

* The College possesses no specially remarkable plate, but it seems that at one time a valuable part was stolen. "In her own name and in that of her son William Saxye, she (Joyce Frankland) bequeathed some curious and very valuable articles of plate to the Society of Brazen-Nose; the great part of which was stolen not many years afterwards, 'by breaking up of our treasure-house,' as the register notes, without further specification of the circumstances of the robbery" (Churton, p. 345).

The Plate Book (pp. 20 and 21) specifies some of the stolen articles. "*Imprimis* a nest of gilt gobletts with one cover to the same weighing 73 oz. 3 q^{ters} at 5s. 2d. the oz. *It.*, one Basen with a rose in the bottome and gilt chasen about the edges weighing 51 oz. at 5s. 1d. the oz. The whole amounted to 247 oz. 3 q^{ters}."

adorns the College buttery." By way of leaving a memory behind him in that place he is said to have left the mark of his hand on the Buttery walls far above an ordinary man's reach. At the end of last century, when the Resurrectionists were abroad, it was feared that his grave in Hale Churchyard might be disturbed, so his remains were taken up and kept for some time in Hale Hall. The thigh-bone was found to reach from the hip of an ordinary-sized man to his foot. There is, of course, a fairy tale about his height which seems worth repeating. When a boy, his size was nothing extraordinary; but one day an idea struck him, and he drew on the sand the outline of an enormous man. On this he lay down to sleep, wishing that meanwhile he might expand to the dimensions of the outline; and lo and behold! when he awoke his wish was fulfilled.

VI.—TITLE, ARMS, &c.

The full designation of the College is *Aula Regia et Collegium de Brasenose in Oxonia*; the "King's Hall and College of Brasenose in Oxford." The name actually in use has varied with every century; King's College, Collegium Regale, Brasinnose, Brazen Nose and Brasenose* being the chief variations. But it is

* The absurd derivation which would connect the name with Brasinium or Brewing-house seems now to be generally abandoned. Antony Wood saw the matter more correctly: "The College was

probable that the word, in spite of strange spelling, was always pronounced as a dissyllable. The College seal consists of three Gothic compartments, with the Trinity in the centre, and St. Hugh and St. Chad on either side. Bishop Smyth's arms are underneath on a little shield, and the lettering is "Sigillum commune colegii regalis de brasinnose in oxonia."

The arms are: The shield divided into three parts paleways; the centre or, thereon an escutcheon charged with the arms of the See of Lincoln (gules, two lions passant gardant in pale or, on a chief azure Our Lady crowned, sitting on a tombstone issuant from the chief, in her dexter arm the Infant Jesus, in her sinister a sceptre, all or) ensigned with a mitre, all proper; the dexter side argent, a chevron sable between three roses gules seeded or barbed vert, being the arms of the founder, William Smyth: on the sinister side the arms of Sir Richard Sutton of Prestbury, Knight, viz., quarterly first and fourth, argent a chevron between three bugle-horns stringed sable, for Sutton; second and third, a chevron between three crosses crosslet sable, for Southworth.

A coat tripartite paleways is of course very uncommon, but two other Oxford colleges, Lincoln and near finished out of the ruins of several hostels, the chief of which was Brasenose Hall, *so-called, without doubt, from such a sign, which was in ancient time over its door*, as other Halls also had, viz., Hawk or Hieron Hall, Elephant, Swan, or Bull Hall."

Corpus, exhibit it. Certain variations are to be found in different examples; for instance, in one the crosses are crosslet fitchy and in another patoncé. The arms were officially recorded by Richard Lee the *poursuivant* in 1574, and may be found in MS. H 6 of the Herald's College.

It is not quite certain whether the coats displayed for Sutton were ever actually borne by Sir Richard Sutton, but their use to commemorate that founder dates back to 1574. The arms of Colleges seem merely to have been assumed from those borne by their founders; at least they were never authoritatively granted by the College of Arms, from whose jurisdiction the University was exempted by a special charter of Henry IV. Dean Burgon maintained that the arms of Brasenose were already in use before 1574, and in that year were merely confirmed by Lee (*Portcullis*). But it has been pointed out by a writer in *Notes and Queries*, that Lee, in getting arms from the stained glass of the chapels, attached to the shield the name of the founder and not that of the College, and that the peculiar mode of blazon "*Tierced in Pale*" was not used in England at the time.*

* Cf. Dean Burgon's *Arms of the Colleges at Oxford* (1855), Woodward's *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, pp. 427, 431, and *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, xii. p. 446.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLLEGE AND ITS SPORTING HISTORY

FROM the early years of the century the College has been identified with Oxford sport. In rowing the Brasenose record is pre-eminent, and it is the Brasenose Club Book which is our earliest trustworthy authority on boating history. But that does not begin till 1837, and the chronicles of the years previous are few and cryptic. The first inter-University contest was in 1829, but the first race between college crews seems to date back to 1815. Then, apparently, Brasenose was head of the river, but on the next seven years history is silent. In 1822 there were bumping races, and a disputed bump between B. N. C. and Jesus, which ended in a free fight. In 1823 there was no race, because Stephen Davis, the boat-builder, was rowing in the B. N. C. eight, and Christ Church would have none of it. When the B. N. C. boat appeared on the river the Christ Church men ran alongside of it shouting, "No hired watermen." In 1824, B. N. C. started second, was

bumped by Exeter under the Willows on the first night, but caught Christ Church on the third day and finished second. In those days the way of the thing was primitive. The boat lay in Iffley Lock, while the stroke stood on the bow thwart and ran down towards the stern, pushing with his shoulder against the lock gates. The boat would be clear of the lock by the time he reached his own seat, so dropping on to his thwart he began to row, the oars having been meanwhile "tossed" to their owners. Bulteel, who stroked B. N. C. in 1822, seems to have been famous for his skill in this perplexing manœuvre. In 1825, the custom was given up and the boats started in line along the bank. In 1827, B. N. C. bumped Balliol and Christ Church and left off head, but the next year she fell to second place. In 1829 there were no races on account of the new inter-University contest, and in 1830, when the races were renewed, B. N. C. was bumped by Balliol and finished third. From this year to 1837, available records seem to be utterly wanting. The rules for such early contests were much like those in force to-day, save for one curious point of difference; for it was ordained by a committee of umpires in 1826, that "the boats below the one that bumps stop racing, those above continue it."

But with 1837 we enter upon surer ground. It would be difficult to conceive of more racy and inspirit-

ing records than the minutes of Brasenose Boat Club. More, they form the only authentic history of the early years of University rowing, as Mr. Woodgate has acknowledged in the *Badminton* volume. On the first page is inscribed a set of verses as a fitting preface:

“ Whoe’er thou art who readest o’er
These records of brave deeds of yore
By which the name of B. N. C.
Has been ennobled and *shall* be,
Of all their lessons learn this one,
‘ What has been, may again be done.’ ”

The records begin humbly, for in 1837 it was found that the club was some £72 in debt, and that its balance in the bank was only £9. A subscription of £85 was raised in College and the financial difficulties settled, but, says the narrative, “having an indifferent crew who were by no means backward in throwing the blame upon the boat, we allowed their excuse and decided it prudent not to put on.” That year Queen’s left off head. The next year B. N. C. ordered a new boat from Searle which cost £80 16s. They left off sixth, and it is mentioned that the steering of W. B. Garnett, the cox (who is called the “steerer”), was universally admired. In 1839 they had a new boat built for them by Isaac King, and the crew seems to have been a strong one. No. 5, R. G. Walls, rowed 5

in the University boat the same year, when Oxford lost to Cambridge. The result was a brilliant victory for B. N. C., which bumped Trinity, St. John's, Exeter, Balliol, and Merton ("The Balliol men, dissatisfied with their own, borrowed the Queen's boat, but," says the dramatic chronicler, "nothing could save them."), and finished head of the river. In the Torpids, which were then rowed in May, B. N. C. became head the first night but afterwards fell to Oriel. On June 10, 1839, "Mr. Empson presented a handsome flag to the College in honour of the 'Childe of Hale' being head of the river." On June 14, the crew entered for the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley, but were beaten in the first heat by the Etonian Club boat, "which may be accounted for by B. N. C. having pulled down from Oxford to the scene of action only the day before." Spartan times and Spartan manners!

In 1840, B. N. C. remained head though hard pressed by both Wadham and University. In the Oxford boat of that year no less than five of the crew had places, Nos. 5, 6, 7, stroke and cox. It was the most exciting contest which had yet been seen, and ended in Cambridge winning by three-quarters of a length. In the same year the University Fours were started, and B. N. C. entered with a crew of four Blues. It seems to have been a tremendous race, and the account in the minutes is Homeric. In the semi-final, B. N. C.

struggled home only half a length ahead of Trinity, and in the final they beat University by two lengths after a foul in the Gut. In 1841 there were four B. N. C. men in the Oxford boat, but in the College races the boat fell to third place.

In 1842 the luck changed; B. N. C. did not figure in the Westminster to Putney race and the boat finished fifth on the river. There is an account in *Bell's Life* of a four-oared race got up by members of the College in 1843, but the same ill-luck attended the boat, which dropped to eighth place. But in the great struggle in that year at Henley for the Grand Challenge, one B. N. C. man, Royds, figured in the winning boat, and another old B. N. C. oar, Meynell, rowed for the London Oxford Club. The race is one of the most famous in history. Menzies, the stroke, fainted just before the start. Cambridge were forbidden by the rules of the Regatta to allow another man to take his place, and apparently they considered the law more honoured in the observance than in the breach. It seems worth while to quote the account given in the Records:

"As things were in this stage, to the surprise of everybody the Oxford University boat turned out with *seven* working hands only in her, the bow oar being absent, four necessarily rowing on one side and three only on the other. Loud shouts of applause greeted this behaviour, and the



Oxonians, acknowledging it with a bow, came to the starting-place, followed by the Umpire's boat. Immediately after the departure of the Oxford boat the Cambridge crew came facing the judge's stand, and were of opinion they ought to claim, as the rival boat had not her number in her. Their claim, however, was rejected, and the Cambridge crew following the Umpire's boat, prepared for the start. They took the Berks shore, and on the signal being given both went off together. They remained oar and oar for two or three minutes, the Oxonians keeping way with their opponents in a wonderful manner. At length it became a question whether the Oxford seven were not better than the Cambridge eight, and so it turned out beyond all question. On arriving at the first gate on the towing-path from the island the Oxford boat drew ahead, and the Cantabs made several powerful efforts to overtake her, but in vain. Oxford continued to lead and won by more than a length amongst the most deafening shouts of applause! Nothing could exceed the surprise produced by this result, and the triumph of the Oxford Gentlemen at their well-earned victory."

In 1844, B. N. C. came up to third place in the Eights, and the year is also marked by Tuke's stroking the wi-ning Oxford boat, and by the presence for the first time of a second B. N. C. boat on the river. Next year the Oxford boat was again stroked by Tuke, and F. C. Royds of B. N. C. rowed at 6. In the College races the second day saw B. N. C. head, and they kept the place for the rest of the week, and in the Torpid races

(which were rowed after the Eights) the boat made a steady progress from fifth place to first. On the second last night they accomplished what the records call a very unusual feat. "Having made a good start, B. N. C. gained on Oriel every stroke, and bumped them easily at the side of the Haystack; they backed water in order to free their boat from the Oriel one, which caused a delay of some few seconds, and gave Wadham a considerable chance of improving their distance. Notwithstanding this, B. N. C. were very soon after Wadham, and after a very hard pull caught them a little on this side the Long Bridges, rowed a short distance by their side, and passed them a little before the Cherwell, coming in a considerable distance ahead." In the contemporary *Bell's Life* there is an exceedingly quaint account of the bump-supper which followed, when "the members of the spirited College entertained their aquatic friends in a most sumptuous manner at supper, when a goodly muster of the gallant sons of Isis enjoyed their hospitality."

In 1846, B. N. C. kept head of the river, but the next year they fell to second place on the seventh night "by a chance which no one can always prevent, one of the crew catching a crab and falling quite out of the boat just opposite the winning-post." In the winning Oxford boat of that year B. N. C. had three representatives, Royds, Oldham, and Winter. In 1848 they had hard

luck in the Eights, falling to fifth, in spite of the fact that the boat contained two University oars, Royds and Winter, who in two successive years were Presidents of the O. U. B. C. In 1849 B. N. C. fell another place in the Eights, but in 1850 they won the Fours, and ascended to third place in the Eights. Next year they left off second, and competed unsuccessfully for the Stewards' at Henley, but won the Ladies' with ease. A B. N. C. Pair won the University Pairs, but the Fours were lost to Christ Church.

In 1852 the Torpids were rowed in March, and B. N. C. kept their head place. In the winning Oxford boat, which was stroked by Chitty of Balliol, three B. N. C. men, Prescott, Greenall, and Houghton, had places. In the Eights, B. N. C. bumped Balliol at the Willows the first night, and finished head. In the Torpids and Eights of next year they remained head, and P. H. Moore of B. N. C. rowed 2 in the Oxford boat which won the Grand at Henley. In 1854, B. N. C. left off head boat in the Eights, but the next year they fell to Balliol after a desperate struggle. Every possible misfortune seems to have overtaken the unlucky crew, for No. 3 was forbidden to row by his doctor on the first day, a crab was caught on the fifth, No. 2 failed them on the sixth, and stroke cut his hand badly. A worse fate overtook them in the year following, and on the second last day the crew declined to row. Next

year the rowing improved considerably, but it was not till 1859 that B. N. C. got as high as fourth place in the Eights. In the same year, H. F. Baxter of B. N. C. won the University Sculls, being the first member of the College who had ever achieved that honour. He had already rowed bow in the winning Oxford boat, and so, after an interval of half a dozen years, a B. N. C. man again appeared in the University Eight. In 1860 the College ascended one place in the Eights; Woodgate and Baxter won the Pairs; and a B. N. C. crew won the Fours. Next year—when Champneys, of B. N. C., was bow in the University boat—they had serious misfortunes from accident among the crew, and fell to fourth place in the Eights. Woodgate won the University Sculls, and the Pairs fell likewise to the College. At Henley, in the same year, Champneys and Woodgate won the Silver Goblets, and the B. N. C. crew beat London for the Wyfold. In the Eights of 1862, B. N. C. rose to third place: Woodgate again won the Sculls; and, along with R. Shepherd, won the Pairs for the third time in three years. A B. N. C. Four won the Stewards' at Henley, Woodgate and Champneys won the Silver Goblets, and Woodgate only lost the Diamond Sculls after a dead heat, thus clearly proving himself one of the foremost amateurs of his time. On the 17th of July in the same year he completed his record by beating the winner of the Diamonds for the Wingfield Sculls,

the first occasion on which the trophy had fallen to an Oxford man. In 1863 the College had three men in the University boat, and rose from third to second place on the river. In all this period, in addition to the rivalry with other Colleges, there was keen competition for various lesser trophies, the Armitstead Pairs, the Phoenix Sculls, the Royds and Winter Pairs, and the Brasenose and Trinity Sculls.

In 1864, D. Pocklington of B. N. C. stroked Oxford, and in the Eights the College finished second. At Henley, Woodgate won the Diamonds. Next year the boat rowed head of the river, and Rickaby of B. N. C. won the Sculls. In 1866, F. Crowder of B. N. C. rowed 2 in the University Boat, and the College kept its headship in the Eights. The race was in the highest degree exciting, for they fell to Corpus on the third night, re-bumped them easily on the fourth, and rowed over for the remaining days. In 1867 the Coxe Fours were started to be rowed in Michaelmas Term, the rule being that no more than one member of the last Eight and one of the last Torpid row in each crew, and that each boat contain at least one freshman. B. N. C. kept its place in the Eights, Crowder and Crofts won the Pairs, and Crofts the Sculls. At Henley, Crofts won the Diamonds. At the Henley Regatta of 1868 the B. N. C. Four, which was entered for the Stewards' Cup, made some sensation by refusing to row with a

coxswain. The new tactics were inspired by Mr. Woodgate, and were in imitation of the New Brunswick Four which had appeared shortly before at the International Regatta. Mr. Wood of University appealed to the Stewards, and it was decided that the rules demanded that the boat should start with a cox. The crew accepted the ruling, rowed to the start without any coxswain, there took on board Mr. F. E. Weatherly, who (to quote the records), "on the word 'Off' being given jumped overboard so completely as to go down among the water-lilies and not to appear for some seconds." The boat had lost the start while waiting on him to get clear, since it was too small to allow of rowing while burdened with his extra weight. But when it was once on its way it quickly overhauled the Kingston and Oscillators Fours and won by over a hundred yards. The winners were naturally disqualified, but the experiment had opened the eyes of the rowing world, and thenceforth the coxless Four became the custom. At the same regatta Woodgate and Crofts won the Silver Goblets with some ease.

In 1868 the College had gone down to seventh place in the Eights, but in 1869 she ascended to fourth. There is a queer note in the minutes to the effect that "this year the traditional training was somewhat modified, the men having the choice between port and claret, and they were not forced to eat things which

disagreed with them." In 1870 the boat fell one place in the Eights. In 1871, Mr. J. McC. Bunbury of B. N. C. rowed at 7 in the Oxford boat, and in the Eights B. N. C. bumped Exeter and St. John's, and were bumped in turn by Christ Church and Pembroke. A vote of thanks is recorded in the minutes to No. 4, Mr. J. W. Goodwyn, "for resuming his place this year in spite of the rival attractions of the cricket-field, in which he is a man of no mean reputation." The same year Mr. Bunbury won the Sculls, and rowed in the winning Pair. At Henley he rowed 4 in the Oxford Etonian Eight, stroke in the Four, and started for the Diamonds.

In 1872, B. N. C. rose to third place in the Eights and pressed Balliol hotly for second. Next year the Eight seems to have been very bad, for it fell to seventh, but Farrer, who had rowed 3 that year against Cambridge, was in the winning Pair. In the Fours of that year the B. N. C. crew only lost by damaging their steering gear and running into the bank. In the Oxford boat of 1874 there were two men from the College, stroke and bow, and in the Eights B. N. C. left off second. The Eight entered for the Grand and the Ladies' at Henley and a College Four for the Visitors', but both crews were unsuccessful. To console them they won the University Fours with some ease in the autumn. Three B. N. C. men were in the boat of 1875

which broke the long list of Cambridge successes—Mr. Way at stroke, Mr. T. C. Edwardes-Moss at 7, and Mr. H. P. Marriott at 2. In the Eights the College kept its second place, and Mr. Edwardes-Moss rowed in the winning Pair. In 1876, B. N. C. rose on the first night to the head of the river. At Henley, an amalgamated B. N. C. and University Eight entered for the Grand, and a College Four for the Visitors'. The racing in both entries was of the closest kind, but in neither case was the College successful. Later in the year the Fours were won in the easiest way by B. N. C.

The Putney to Mortlake race of 1877 resulted in the famous dead heat, which has been one of the points of controversy ever since in boating history. Mr. Marriott of B. N. C. stroked and Mr. Edwardes-Moss rowed at 7. Oxford was clear, rowing well together, when just above the Limes bow's oar broke, he caught a crab, and for the rest of the race was virtually useless. From the *Field* of March 24 I take the following:

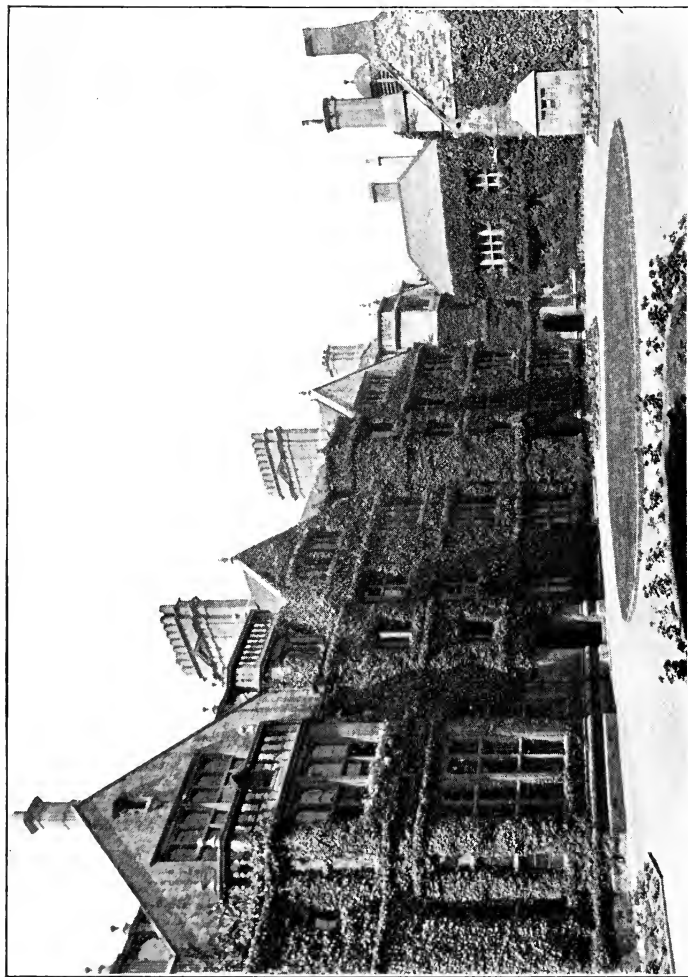
“It took Oxford a second or two to get settled again, and Cambridge came on them like a shot. By the time that bow's oar was extricated the lead was reduced to a short half-length, and the match was virtually seven oars to eight for the last half-mile. It could be seen that bow from that moment was unable to feather; his blade was always square for the rest of the race, and was generally up

in the air. So far as he could he swung and kept time, but the oar being 'hinged' as it were with a joint where the leather held it together, wobbled about as it was moved, and it was difficult work to keep it from again fouling the water. The run in was the finest thing ever seen upon the Thames. Cambridge, though they had been pretty well pumped before they reached Barnes, were still capable of a capital spurt, and as the water became smoother they went steadier and splashed less. Oxford spurted in turn—both boats were rowing 40—Cambridge gaining inch by inch, and the Oxford rudder throwing up fountains, as it held the boat straight with the uneven work of four oars to three. Oxford had still two or three feet of lead left at the Ship, and the last efforts of both strokes were enough to make their reputations for life as oarsmen, even if they had never been heard of before. *The boats passed the flag-boat level."*

In the Eights of 1877, B. N. C. fell from head to third place, partly from weakness and partly from unlucky accidents which befell the stroke. Mr. Edwardes-Moss won the Sculls, and at Henley in the same year added the Diamond Sculls to his long list of triumphs. The Fours fell to the College, and to the hollow win for Oxford in the boat-race of 1878 Mr. Edwardes-Moss and Mr. Marriott again contributed. In the Eights, B. N. C. rose to second place; at Henley, Mr. Edwardes-Moss won the Diamonds a second time, and along with Mr. W. A. Ellison of

University carried off the Silver Goblets. In 1879, Mr. Marriott again stroked Oxford, this being the seventh time in succession a B. N. C. man had filled that position. In the Eights the College fell three places. In 1880, Mr. R. H. Poole of B. N. C. rowed bow in the winning Oxford boat, and in the Eights—thanks to the coaching of Mr. Farrer and Mr. Edwardes-Moss—B. N. C. made three bumps and left off second. For the next two years there is little of interest to chronicle till the Henley of 1882, when a B. N. C. Four won the Visitors'. In the 'Varsity race of 1883, when Oxford won in a blinding snow-storm, Mr. Puxley of B. N. C. rowed 4. Next year Mr. F. J. Pitman stroked Cambridge, and broke the spell of her ill-luck as Goldie had done in 1870. In the race of 1887, when Mr. D. H. McLean broke his oar, there were two B. N. C. men in the boat, Mr. W. F. Holland at bow and Mr. H. R. Parker at 4. In the same year the Fours fell to the College, and as bow in the winning crew there comes the name of one of the most famous of all B. N. C. oars, Mr. C. W. Kent.

From 1888 begins the period of chief distinction in the boating annals of the College. In the Oxford boat of that year Mr. Holland of B. N. C. was bow, Mr. Parker 6, and Mr. Frere stroke. In the Eights the B. N. C. boat, which was coached by Mr. R. C. Lehmann, rose to second place. Mr. Holland won the Sculls, and



From a photograph by the

NEW QUADRANGLE

[Oxford Camera Club]



a B. N. C. Four won the Visitors' at Henley by seven lengths. In 1889, Mr. Holland stroked the 'Varsity, and Mr. Parker rowed at 6. In the Eights, B. N. C. under Mr. Kent's stroking rose to head of the river. They were chased every night by New College and generally finished only some few feet ahead. It was altogether a wonderful effort of pluck, considering that both Mr. Kent and Mr. Holland were very unwell on at least one night of the races. In the 'Varsity race of 1890, when Oxford, with Mr. W. A. L. Fletcher as stroke, won for the first time in four years, Mr. Holland kept his place at bow. In the Eights the boat kept its place at head in spite of its strange composition, for Mr. Kent, who weighed only 10st. 10, was followed at 7 by Mr. F. Wilkinson, who rowed 13st. 8. At Henley that year B. N. C. was very prominent. In the first heat for the Stewards' a B. N. C. Four—Mr. Holland, Mr. Ford, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Kent—beat Leander by two feet. In the final the Thames crew were two lengths ahead at Fawley Court boathouse, but B. N. C. in a series of extraordinary spurts rushed up level opposite the Grand Stand and won by three-quarters of a length. The B. N. C. Eight were only beaten for the Grand after a close struggle with London. The Four, with Mr. C. H. Hodgson at bow instead of Mr. Holland, won the Visitors' with ease.

The 'Varsity race of 1891 was a memorable one for

Oxford men, both from the number of famous oars in the Oxford crew and from the narrowness of the victory. Mr. Kent stroked, Mr. Fletcher rowed at 7, Lord Ampthill at 6, Mr. Wilkinson at 5, Mr. Guy Nickalls at 4, Mr. Vivian Nickalls at 3, Mr. R. P. Rowe at 2, and Mr. Poole bow. At Chiswick Church the boats were level, but from Thorneycroft's Oxford began to draw away and passed through Barnes Bridge three-quarters of a length ahead. Cambridge spurted magnificently the whole way to the finish, but Mr. Kent answered with his famous "rushes," and took his crew past the winning-post a bare half-length to the good. In the Eights B. N. C. kept head without much difficulty. At Henley the Leander crew which won the Grand was stroked by Mr. Kent, coxed by Mr. Williams of B. N. C., while Mr. Ford and Mr. Holland rowed respectively at 2 and bow. The race for the Grand was one of the most exciting on record, and Mr. Kent's stroking will not soon be forgotten. In the final for the Silver Goblets there was a tremendous race—Lord Ampthill and Mr. Guy Nickalls against Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Fletcher, the former passing the post only one foot to the good. Mr. Ford rowed in the 'Varsity boat-race of 1892, when Mr. C. M. Pitman continued the apostolic succession of great Oxford strokes. In the Eights the glory of B. N. C. departed, and she fell first to Magdalen and then to New College.

At Henley, Mr. Kent stroked the winning Leander Eight with his usual success, and Mr. Ford rowed at 2. In the Eights of 1893, B. N. C. bumped New College and left off second. At Henley, Mr. Kent, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Holland again rowed in the winning Leander boat, and also a new B. N. C. oar at 5, Mr. W. B. Stewart. Mr. Stewart rowed 3 in the Oxford boat of 1894. In the Eights B. N. C. fell to New College in the very spot where they had made their bump the year before.

At this point we may bring our history of the Boat Club to a close. If we collect some of the results we find that we have had close on forty 'Varsity oars in the College, many of whom rowed for several years. The first years of boating in Oxford found the College head of the river, and, in 1891, which was the last year of her headship, she had started head in the Eights on 110 days. The Eights records do not become complete till 1837, but before that date she had left off head at least in 1815, 1822, 1826, and 1827. The following table shows the years of her pre-eminence:

* 1839 (1 day)	1847 (7 days)
* 1840 (9 days)	* 1852 (7 „)
* 1841 (4 „)	* 1853 (8 „)
* 1845 (6 „)	* 1854 (8 „)
* 1846 (8 „)	1855 (7 „)

* In these years it finished Head.

* 1865 (2 days)	1877 (2 days)
* 1866 (7 „)	* 1889 (5 „)
* 1867 (8 „)	* 1890 (6 „)
1868 (2 „)	* 1891 (6 „)
* 1876 (7 „)	1892 (1 day)

Her record in the Torpids is equally brilliant. Between 1839 and 1851, when the Torpids were rowed in the Summer Term after the Eights, B. N. C. left off head in 1842, 1845, 1850, and 1851. Since 1852, B. N. C. has started head on 104 days.

* 1852 (3 days)	1883 (3 days)
1853 (5 „)	* 1886 (4 „)
1854 (4 „)	* 1887 (6 „)
1859 (2 „)	* 1888 (6 „)
* 1861 (5 „)	* 1889 (6 „)
* 1862 (6 „)	* 1890 (6 „)
1863 (5 „)	* 1891 (6 „)
* 1866 (5 „)	* 1892 (6 „)
1867 (2 „)	* 1893 (6 „)
* 1874 (2 „)	* 1894 (6 „)
* 1875 (6 „)	* 1895 (No rowing on account of frost)
1876 (1 day)	
1882 (2 days)	1896 (1 day)

Neither in Eights nor Torpids has B. N. C. ever fallen below the ninth place, and the number of days she has been Head of the River is far in excess of the record of

* In these years it finished Head.

any other College. Her Henley performances are no less remarkable. The Wingfield Sculls have gone three times to a B. N. C. man ; the Silver Goblets six times to a Pair in which there was at least one oar from the College ; we have won the Diamond Sculls five times ; the Stewards' twice ; the Ladies' twice ; the Visitors' five times ; and the Wyfold once. In the University Pairs one B. N. C. man at least has rowed in the winning boat some fifteen times. The College has won the University Sculls nine times and the Fours eight times. Finally, a B. N. C. man has stroked the Oxford boat in fourteen contests.

Boating has always been the foremost sport in the College, but in cricket the record is highly creditable. It is hard to find trustworthy cricketing annals, for the club usually omitted the formality of a minute-book ; in athletics and football the difficulty is still greater.

‘In about 1835,’ Mr. Madan says, ‘the only clubs which had cricket-grounds of their own were the Brasenose and the Bullingdon (Ch. Ch.), and even in 1847 the Magdalen, *i.e.*, the University Club, was the only additional one.’

But the great years of B. N. C. cricket were the early seventies, the days of the famous Ottaway. In May 1871 a B. N. C. sixteen challenged an eleven of All England and beat them by eleven wickets. The match took place on the Christ Church ground, and the

Field of the time is lost in admiration of Mr. Townshend's batting and Mr. Hadow's bowling. Seven out of the sixteen found places in the Oxford eleven, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Law, Mr. Ottaway, Mr. Hadow, Mr. Marriott, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Butler, so that the College achieved the unique distinction of having eight representatives at Lord's. The result was a foregone conclusion, Oxford winning with eight wickets to spare in spite of Mr. Bray's bowling. In 1872 for the second time eight B. N. C. men played for Oxford, Mr. Isherwood and Mr. C. A. Wallroth taking the places of Mr. Hadow and Mr. Pauncefote. In June 1873 a College sixteen played against a United North of England eleven, and defeated them by 131 runs. In the Oxford eleven of that year, which beat Cambridge by three wickets, Mr. Law, Mr. Wallroth, Mr. Ottaway, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Butler were B. N. C. men. In 1895 subscriptions were raised for a new pavilion on the B. N. C. cricket-ground, and various other improvements were carried out which have made the place one of the best of College grounds. To inaugurate the changes an interesting two days' match was played on May 24 and 25 between Past and Present elevens of the College. It resulted in a draw, the Past making 320 runs for their two innings and the Present 162 for one. The Past consisted of Mr. J. H. Hornsby, Mr. Miles, Mr. Barry, Mr. Arnall-

Thompson (a former Blue), Mr. Berens, Mr. Garrett, Mr. Heath, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Lyon, and Mr. Child; the Present representatives were Mr. Hodson, Mr. Gibbes, Mr. Baiss, Mr. Chinnock, Mr. Wallroth, Mr. Ellis Jones, Mr. May, Mr. Donaldson, Mr. Lewis, Mr. C. J. Jones, and Mr. Jenkins.

In Athletic Sports the College has always had a fair number of Blues, and at least one very distinguished athlete. In 1876, Mr. M. J. Brooks of B. N. C. was President of the O. U. A. C., and at the sports in March cleared 21 feet 4 inches in the long jump. At the meeting with Cambridge in April at Lillie Bridge, Mr. Brooks did 21 feet 8½ inches in the long jump, and in the high jump achieved the astonishing record of 6 feet 2½ inches. "Great things," says a writer in the *Field* of the time, "were expected of Mr. Brooks, the President, and great things were certainly accomplished by him. The exploit of clearing 6 feet 2½ inches has never before been achieved either by amateur or professional. It is certainly wonderful and almost incredible, but none the less true. Mr. Brooks stands 6 feet high, and thus cleared 2½ inches beyond his own height."

CHAPTER VII

THE COLLEGE AND ITS FAMOUS MEN

THE last and most grateful task of a College historian is to compile some sort of roll of the famous whose names were once on its books. Some have been already considered, but there remains that large number whose distinction was in no way connected with the College history.

To begin with, there is the inevitable tradition which gives us Duns Scotus as a member of the old Brasenose Hall. One theory makes the nose of brass a simulacrum of part of his face, and the sceptic is referred to the bust of Erigena above the Hall entrance. An equally persistent tradition connects Roger Bacon with the College—a story which apparently rose out of a confusion between the famous Friar Bacon of popular story and his Brazen Head and the humbler ornament of the College. M. Charles, in his *Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines*, declares that he was educated “au Collège de Merton ou à celui du Nez de Bronze,” regardless, says Mr. Maxwell Lyte, of the facts “that

Merton College was not founded till he was about fifty years of age, and that he lived at least two hundred years before the foundation of Brasenose." In Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, published in 1591, we have the same myth referred to :

" Why flock you thus to Bacon's secret cell,
A Friar newly stalled in Brazen-nose ? "

Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, who matriculated in 1521, has already been spoken of. He is said, in his biography, to have been the chamber-fellow at Oxford of John Foxe, the martyrologist. There is some doubt whether the latter was ever at Brasenose, as he is not in the College books ; but there is considerable evidence in favour of the view. According to the ordinary account he attracted the notice of a certain John Harding, or Hawarden, a Fellow of Brasenose, by his studiousness, and by his means was entered at the College. In the dedication of his *Syllogisticon* Foxe writes of Hawarden as his tutor, and it is undeniable that Nowell became his life-long friend. In his *Actes and Monuments* he thrice refers to Brasenose, but gives no autobiographical details. " If he resided at Brasenose at all," says Mr. Sidney Lee, " it was probably only for a brief period as Hawarden's private pupil." A better authenticated Brasenose worthy was Sampson Erdeswicke, the antiquary and historian of Staffordshire,

who was at the College in 1553. He was a gentleman-commoner, and afterwards returned to his house of Sandon to pass the rest of his days in the leisured pursuits of the country gentleman.

In or about the year 1556 Thomas Egerton entered as a commoner, "the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire, by one Alice Sparke." He was called to the Bar in 1572; acquired a great practice in the Chancery Courts; became Solicitor-General in 1581 and Attorney-General in 1592. In 1593 he was knighted, in 1594 he was raised to the Bench as Master of the Rolls, and two years later was made Lord Keeper "by the Queen's own choice, without any competitor or mediator." "I think no man," wrote Reynolds to Essex, "ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman." He was long a friend of the Earl of Essex, and was present at the famous scene in the Council-chamber when Essex insulted the Queen and had his ears boxed for his pains. With the accession of James his fortunes continued to prosper, and on July 24, 1603, he became Lord Chancellor with the title of Baron Ellesmere. His chief legal performances during the next years were his determination of the Act of Union of Scotland and England in 1606 and 1607, and his "Postnati" decision in 1608. In 1616 he was created Viscount Brackley ("Break-law," Coke christened him), and on March 15, 1617, he died.

After his death his son was created Earl of Bridgewater. Ellesmere was a great lawyer, a patron of letters, and much loved by his friends. He held out a friendly hand to the young Francis Bacon as early as 1596, and worked hard to secure the Attorney-Generalship for his friend. Ben Jonson has three epigrams in his honour, and Samuel Daniel an indifferent rhyming epistle.

In 1561, Sir Henry Savile matriculated at Brasenose. He was afterwards Fellow and Warden of Merton, Provost of Eton, the author of numerous learned works, something of a Court favourite, and esteemed the "most learned Englishman in profane literature of the age of Elizabeth." There is a good portrait of him at Eton and one at Oxford in the University Gallery, while we have Aubrey's testimony that "he was tall and an extraordinary handsome man, no lady having a finer complexion." In those happy days men could be learned and still keep a wholesome colour. While at Eton, as Aubrey tells us, he could not abide "witts." When a young scholar was recommended to him for a good wit, he declared, "Out upon him, give me the plodding student. If I would look for 'witts' I would go to Newgate, there be the 'witts',"—an opinion which many provosts of Eton have held since then, for the bizarre is not "*quod Etona miretur.*"

John Guillim the herald was at Brasenose about 1585, coming from the Cathedral School of Hereford.

After leaving Oxford he went to London, and was made a member of the College of Arms. In 1610 he published his famous *Display of Heraldrie* which went through many editions, and represents the first serious attempt to systematise the science. Richard Barnfield, the poet, who was at the College in 1589, has already been spoken of. He was born in 1574, at Norbury in Shropshire, the son of Richard Barnfield, Gentlemen, and Maria Skrimsher, his wife. In the November of 1594 he published his first book, *The Affectionate Shepherd*, with a dedication to the famous Penelope, Lady Rich. Next year appeared his *Cynthia*, and three years after the *Poems in Divers Humours*, containing "If Music and Poetry sweet agree" and "As it fell upon a day," which were so long attributed to Shakespeare. He died in 1627 at his country-house of Dorlestone, in the parish of Stone, in Staffordshire.

A greater figure is Robert Burton, who in 1593 came from his Leicestershire home as a commoner to Brasenose. He was born in 1577, the second son of Ralph Burton of Lindley. Six years after his matriculation he was elected student of Christ Church, whence he passed to the Rectory of Segrave. In 1606 he wrote a Latin comedy,* which was acted at Christ Church on

* Privately printed in quarto for presentation to the Roxburghe Club by the Rev. W. E. Buckley of Middleton Cheney, the owner of one of the two existing MS. copies.

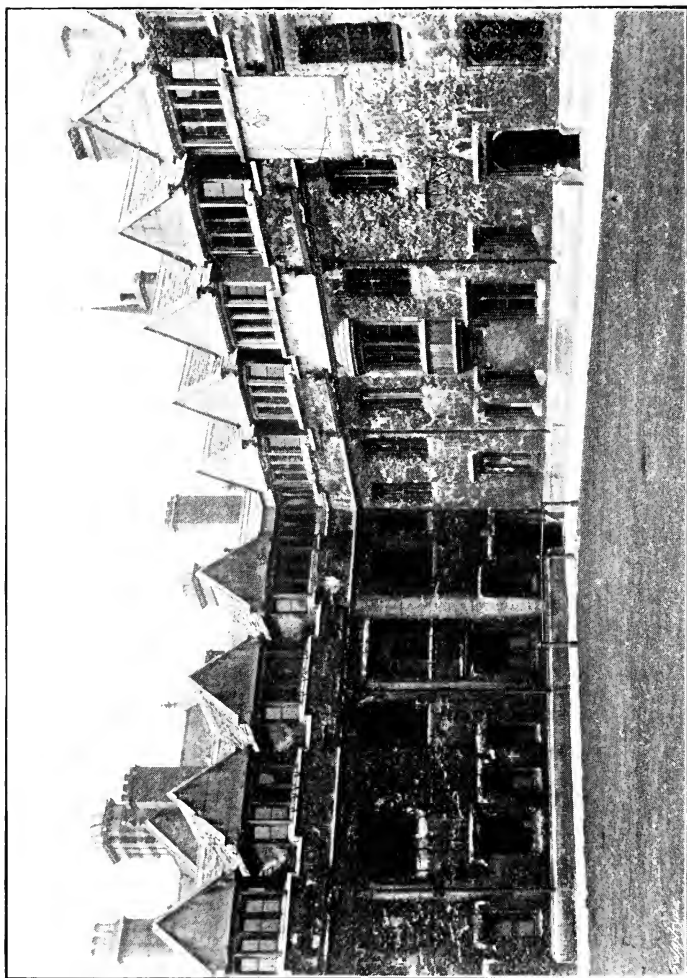
Shrove Monday. In 1621 appeared his extraordinary work—*The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is: With all the Kinds, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened and cut up. By Democritus Junior. With a Satyricall Preface conducing to the following Discourse: Macrob. Omne meum, Nihil meum.* In the said “Satyricall Preface” he writes:—

“I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et Musis*, in the university, as long almost as *Xenocrates* in *Athens*, *ad senectam fere*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study. For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing colledge of Europe (‘Christ Church in Oxford’ he adds in a gloss), *Augustissimo Collegio*, and can brag with *Jovius* almost, *in ea luce domicilii Vaticani totius orbis celeberrimi, per 37 annos multa opportunaque didici*; for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be, therefore, loth either by living as a drone to be an unprofitable or unworthy a member of so learned and noble a societie, or to write that which would be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation.”

Apparently his affections were centred more on his later than on his earlier College, for we find no allusion to Brasenose. He wrote of melancholy, he said, “by

being busy to avoid melancholy." He was reported by his friends to be in company "very merry, facete, and juvenile." Like his famous namesake in this century, Sir Richard Burton, and like most good and great men in the world's history, he was devoted to bargees. "Whenever he fell into despondency," says Bishop Kennet, "he could only get relief" (like his own Democritus) "by going to the bridge-foot at Oxford and hearing the bargemen swear at one another, at which he would set his hands to his sides and laugh most profusely." He is buried in the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, and beneath his bust is the immortal epitaph which he wrote himself: "Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia." The curious may still see his portrait in Brasenose Hall. He has had his reward among those of his own craft, for much of the inspiration of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* is drawn from his quaint volume; Lamb is full of echoes of the "fantastic old great man"; and the *Anatomy* had actually the power to raise Dr. Johnson out of his bed two hours sooner than he intended.

About 1617 Richard Mather, the grandfather of the famous Cotton Mather, the Puritan theologian, was at Brasenose, coming up from Winwich School "to gain more than he could by private study, and hoping to converse with Learned Men, and by advantage of dis-



From a photograph by the

OLD QUADRANGLE, FROM THE EAST
SHOWING SUNDIAL ON NORTH WALL

[Oxford Camera Club

putations, Lectures, &c., to obtain a Treasure of knowledge." History does not say whether or not he was disappointed in his expectations. Another famous inmate of the College at a slightly later date was the Royalist, Sir John Spelman. He was educated at Cambridge, but, after the outbreak of the Civil War, was summoned from his retirement in Norfolk to attend the King's Court at Oxford. He took up his quarters in the loyal College of Brasenose, attended Charles I.'s privy council, and would have been appointed a secretary of state had he not died of the plague in 1643. While at Brasenose he compiled a Life of Alfred the Great, its so-called founder. The Royalist Court brought Elias Ashmole also to Oxford, who, under the influence of Sir George Wharton, fell so much in love with natural science that he entered himself at Brasenose to study physics and mathematics. Afterwards came troublous times, and when he went back to London he dabbled a good deal in astrological sciences. He was an indefatigable virtuoso and collector, thoroughly credulous and unfailingly active. His friends included all manner of people, from "Master Backhouse, a venerable Rosicrucian, who called him son, and opened himself very freely touching the great secret," and who finally told him "the true matter of the philosopher's stone," to John Tradescant, who bequeathed him his great collection. He bestowed his

museum upon the University of Oxford—twelve wagon-loads in all, the nucleus of the present Ashmolean. Throughout his life he was an industrious, whimsical, good-hearted being, much troubled with the gout, and eternally in matrimonial difficulties.

A hundred years later we find Dr. John Latham, the famous physician, at Brasenose. He became President of the College of Physicians, and attained to an enormous private practice. Two of his sons, John and Henry, were at Brasenose as contemporaries of Reginald Heber. Both were what is euphemistically called “poetical writers,” and both produced Latin verses of some elegance.

Reginald Heber himself has been already spoken of, but the other members of the coterie demand further notice. Chief among them was the philanthropist, Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, the “S. G. O.” of the *Times* letters. He became the brother-in-law of Kingsley and James Anthony Froude, and had something of the social enthusiasm of the former. During the Crimean War he journeyed to the East at his own expense, and inspected the hospitals at Scutari, receiving the thanks of Parliament for his efforts. He was an authority on the Irish question, and showed always a keen interest in the condition of the English agricultural labourer.

Barham, who “first naturalised the French metrical

conte," has, of all Brasenose men of his time, the greatest title to literary fame. Born in 1788, he was educated at St. Paul's, and originally intended for the Bar. He seems to have found Brasenose very expensive—the Principal, Cleaver, used to declare that "he hated a College of paupers"—and now and then his debts were considerable. The death of a College friend had a good deal to do with changing his purpose in life, and in 1813 he took orders. He graduated with a Bachelor's degree, but never took his Master's, a circumstance which once brought down upon him the wrath of Bishop Copleston. "On the occasion of some University contest," writes his son in the Life of his father, "the Bishop inquired how he was going to vote.

"‘I am not going to vote at all, my lord.’

"‘Not vote?’ repeated his lordship. ‘I have no respect, sir, for indolence or indifference. It is a question upon which every man must have formed an opinion, and it is his duty to record it by giving a vote on one side or the other.’

"‘But there may be a third course open to him,’ suggested Mr. Barham.

"‘I can’t imagine one.’

"‘Not, my lord, when a man has no vote to give?’”

It seems to have been the custom in Brasenose Common Room for the members to meet and decide

which way they should vote, and afterwards solidly support one side or the other. The right of private opinion was not recognised, and refractory members had often to decide between offending their conscience and offending the College.

In 1817 Barham was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the living of Snargate in Romney Marsh. In 1819 he published his first novel, *Baldwin*, which was wholly unsuccessful. In 1821 he became a minor Canon of St. Paul's, and in 1827 Rector of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gregory. His best-known novel, *My Cousin Nicholas*, was published in *Blackwood* in 1834. He died in 1844, having been Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's since 1842.

Richard Heber, elder brother of the more famous Reginald, was born at Westminster in 1773. He was extraordinarily precocious, and at seventeen is said to have begun an edition of Persius. He graduated B.A. in 1796, and M.A. the year later. In 1792 he had published an edition of Silius Italicus, and had completed part of an edition of Claudian. At first his interest lay chiefly in the classics, but the accidental purchase of a copy of Henry Peecham's *Vallie of Vanitie* (1639) interested him in early English literature. He inherited large Yorkshire and Shropshire properties from his father in 1804, and thenceforth could indulge his taste in book-buying to the full. He

stood for Oxford in 1806, but was defeated by Lord Colchester. After the Peace of 1815 he seems to have travelled widely in France and the Netherlands to collect books. He was elected member for Oxford in 1821. In 1824 he joined with some others in founding the Athenæum Club. His chief title to fame rests on his enormous collection of books, of which, at his death, he had eight houses full—two in London, one at Hodnet, one in Oxford High Street, others at Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent. There seem to have been altogether about 146,827 volumes besides countless pamphlets and loose papers. The hobby had been with him from his earliest days, for Dibdin once saw a catalogue of his library at the age of eight. He disliked large paper copies; and another of his whims was to buy many copies of a book he liked and lend them generously. “No gentleman,” he used to say, “can be without three copies of a book,—one for use, one for show, and one for borrowers.” The “fiercest and strongest of all bibliomaniacs,” the poet Campbell called him; and Dibdin, in his grandiloquent way, styled him “the Atticus who united all the activity of De Witt and Lomenie, with the retentiveness of Magliabecchi and the learning of Lelong.” Scott, in a letter to Ellis, talks of “Heber the magnificent, whose library and cellar are so superior to all others in the world.” The fine Introduction to Canto Sixth in *Marmion* is

addressed to him, and his collections and generosity are thus pleasantly commemorated :

“ Hoards, not like theirs whose volumes rest
Like treasures in the Franch'mont chest,
While gripple owners still refuse
To others what they cannot use ;
Their pleasure in the books the same
The magpie takes in pilfer'd gain.
Thy volumes, open as thy heart,
Delight, amusement, science, art,
To every ear and eye impart ;
Yet who of all who thus employ them,
Can like the owner's self enjoy them ? ”

Henry Hart Milman was born in 1791, and educated at Eton and Brasenose. In 1821 he was elected Professor of Poetry, an office in which he was succeeded by Keble. In 1828, having taken orders, he was presented to the living of St. Mary's, Reading. His play “ Fazio,” which he had written while at Oxford, was acted at the Surrey Theatre and at Bath under the title of “ The Italian Wife,” and, finally, taken up by the management of the Covent Garden Theatre. Charles and Fanny Kemble appeared in it both in England and America, and in an Italian translation it had a considerable success on the Continent. Then came a succession of long poems of very unequal value—“ Samor, Lord of the Bright City ” (begun at Eton), “ The Fall of Jeru-

salem," "The Martyr of Antioch," "Belshazzar," and "Anne Boleyn." He was Bampton Lecturer in 1827, and in 1830 published his famous "History of the Jews," which made a stir in ecclesiastical sheepfolds. In 1835, Sir Robert Peel made him a Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. His "History of Christianity under the Empire" appeared in 1840, and in 1849 Lord John Russell gave him the Deanery of St. Paul's. In 1855 he published his famous "History of Latin Christianity down to the Death of Pope Nicholas V."—so warmly praised by Mr. Lecky. His "Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral" was published by his son after his death in 1868. In addition he did a large amount of miscellaneous writing. All his life he lived in intimacy with many of the more notable writers of his time—Macaulay, Hallam, Sydney Smith, and John Gibson Lockhart.

After the epoch of Heber, Barham and Milman, the next member of the College who rose to fame was Frederick William Robertson, who in 1837 matriculated at Brasenose, coming south from Edinburgh University. After leaving Oxford he passed some miserable years in curacies, conscious of the power within him, and chafing against the restraint of his position. Then Bishop Wilberforce gave him the parish of St. Ebbe's in Oxford, and shortly after he became Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, a place always to be asso-

ciated with his name. His career there reads like a fairy tale. In six years he had built up an influence which can hardly be paralleled in modern ecclesiastical history. Above parties and party quarrels, he went his own way fearlessly, though the effort wore him to a shadow. The typical great preacher, full of fire and nervous energy, and at the same time a master of English style, he may fairly claim to be one of the greatest of the sons of the College. He died in 1853, killed by his work and the worry and strain it entailed. He was essentially a fighter, and he carried his military zeal, which had made him at one time desirous of entering the army, into his church work. All parties were opposed to him, and yet all were made to bow before the masterful power of the man. His "Sermons" have been read more than any recent theological work of the kind, and will continue to be read as long as there are men to admire a living English style, and the fire and intensity of genius.

A College history makes strange companions, and it is a far cry from a distinguished preacher to Sir Tatton Sykes. But I cannot help regarding that great Yorkshire squire as in a peculiar degree representative of the College, and what the College has at all times delighted to honour. Hearty, kindly, a prince of sportsmen and good fellows, he was one of the last members of an ancient and honourable community, the

old English country gentlemen. He was born in August 1772, and came to Brasenose from Westminster School. Unfortunately no tradition of his College life is preserved, but his lot fell in the happy days of abuses when men used the College as a hunting-box, and took their degrees as a matter of course. For a little he was with a firm of attorneys in London, and then came to Hull to learn the business of a country banker. On his first Saturday there he walked home to his father's house of Sledmere after the day's business was done, thirty-two miles, and repeated the performance on Monday morning, arriving perfectly fresh and fit for his work. When he succeeded to his estates he settled down to the life of a country gentleman, and gave himself to agriculture and his well-beloved sports. He was perfectly catholic in his tastes; a good sheep, a good horse, a good dog were all alike welcome, and he attained to celebrity equally as a breeder of prize stock, a rider, and an owner of famous racehorses. His famous colours—orange and purple—were well known at Malton and Doncaster, though he rarely went to south country races, and never to Epsom. His feats on horseback almost pass belief. When he went to London it was always on his little blood-mare, and he would return as far as Barnet the same night. "If," wrote one of his friends, "he is asked to go a hundred miles to ride a race, he puts a clean shirt in his pocket, his racing jacket under his waistcoat, a pair of

overalls above his leathers, and, jumping upon some thoroughbred, arrives there the next day by the time of starting, and, when the race is over, canters his thoroughbred home again." It was in this fashion that he once rode from Sledmere to Aberdeen to ride his friend the Marquis of Huntly's Kutosoff, and when the race was over, started off home again without waiting to dine, and slept the first night at Brechin. He took six days to the performance, and the distance there and back was not much off 720 miles.

It has been the custom to decry Sir Tatton's fame as a breeder of race-horses, but the fact remains that his hundred and twenty brood mares were of the best blood in the English Stud-Book, and from his stables came Grey Momus, The Lawyer, St. Giles, Gaspard and Elcho. When he was seventy-four, he led back a horse called by his name as St. Leger winner, and from that day till his death a shake of his hand and a kindly word were the reward of every jockey who rode the winning horse. But perhaps he is more justly famous as a fox-hunter. He was long one of the most popular Masters of Foxhounds in England. Until he resigned in his seventy-seventh year he rarely missed a day's hunting and rode as straight as the youngest.

In appearance he was tall, over six feet, but slim and wiry, and was accustomed to ride eleven stone. Until his last day he maintained the fashion of his youth in


his dress—a long frock-coat, drab breeches, top-boots and a frilled shirt. His habits were most simple and regular. He rose at five in winter and at dawn in summertime, often being in the saddle and visiting his kennels at Eddlethorpe (fifteen miles from Sledmere) by daybreak. His favourite breakfast was a jug of new milk and an immense apple-pie. Then he would go out and send the first stone-breaker he met up to the house for a meal, while he broke stones for his morning's exercise. His lunch was generally a crust of brown bread, Yorkshire cream cheese, and a pint of the famous Sledmere ale. His ales were famous over the whole north of England, and, be it said in his honour, no hungry man was ever turned from his door. His figure was well known at every cattle-fair and race-meeting. He and his servant would travel quietly together to some race, master and man riding side by side and eating at the same table; and with it all he was always the great gentleman. Yorkshire regarded him as her peculiar pride, and it used to be said that natives of the county had three things which they wished all visitors to see. The first was York Minster, the second Fountain's Abbey, and the third, without fail, Sir Tatton.

The stories which cling to his memory are countless, turning chiefly on great feats of endurance. Not only was he an extraordinary horseman and pedestrian, but

he had been a pupil in old days of "Gentleman Jackson" and kept to the last a great respect for the Ring. Once he was travelling on one of his expeditions and stopped at a little alehouse for refreshment. Two great ruffianly-looking drovers were leaning against the bar, and when his ale was served one of them coolly lifted the pot and drained it. Sir Tatton said nothing but quietly ordered more. When it was brought the second drover played the same trick with it. Sir Tatton with indescribable meekness ordered a third supply, drank it, and then, buttoning his coat, asked them sweetly which he should take first. In a quarter of an hour the slim quiet-tempered man had given the two louts the best thrashing they had ever received. Like George Borrow he always regretted the degradation of the Fancy, and for an eminent practitioner like Tom Sayers he had the warmest esteem. But there was one point of conduct which few great sportsmen have cultivated and which was part of his peculiar charm. His speech and manner were singularly quiet and dignified, and he never was heard to use an oath. He was a perfect type of the old-fashioned gentleman, a wiser and shrewder Sir Roger de Coverley. Till two years before his death he continued to show in pink, and he had great hopes of living to the age of a hundred. His natural spirits remained unabated, for three years before his death he would have gone to El Hamir

Pasha's sale at Cairo, but he could find no one to accompany him. In 1861, at the age of ninety-one, he finally succumbed to the effects of a chill which he had caught two years before. In his eighty-ninth year he had been hard at work breaking stones and was in a great heat, so that after his servant had brought him his midday bread and ale, he fell soundly asleep on the ground. He awoke badly chilled; gout followed, and then the more fatal dropsy, and in two years the world was the poorer by the loss of one of the greatest of all sportsmen.

It is hard to know in what words to write of that member of the College who has made the name of Brasenose especially familiar to all lovers of the rarer and purer qualities of style. After a record of College sport and College escapades it seems a little incongruous to speak of one whose work and interests were so wholly aloof. And yet it is a task which cannot be shirked, for to Walter Pater the College stood for much; he was for long a member of its governing body; his rooms above the Bursary were the gathering-place of much of the best wit and culture in England; and over a small body of undergraduates he exercised a profound influence. The outstanding facts of his life are few, for he spent most of his days in Oxford. As an undergraduate he was at Queen's, taking a second in his schools like so many distinguished men. In 1864



? he was elected Fellow of Brasenose, apparently one of the first non-clerical Fellows which the College elected. At one time he had thought of becoming a Unitarian minister, but after his election he gave up the idea and devoted himself to his literary work. In later years he had a house in St. Giles's, but his real home was always in his College rooms, and to the last he performed his various College duties. He died suddenly in his house in Oxford on Monday, July 30, 1894, and was buried in the Churchyard of St. Giles.

? It would be a vain task in this place to enter on an exposition of the shining merits of his style, or the curious and subtle qualities of his thought and fancy. But it seems reasonable to attempt a short and all too imperfect account of his share in the College life and that aspect of the man which was apparent to his friends. The present writer was one of the unfortunates who came up one year too late to know the personal influence of the man; but the College is still full of his memory, and many have only just gone down who enjoyed the privilege of his teaching. Pater acted for some time as Dean and Tutor of the College, though he always shrank from the responsibility of any University office. It is almost impossible to imagine him as Proctor; not since Gilbert White of Oriel filled the office would discipline have had so shy an exponent. It was while he was an acting member of

the governing body that the Cain and Abel statue, reported to be by Giovanni da Bologna, was removed and sold for old lead. Apparently he believed it genuine, for, according to Mr. Gosse, "in later years a perfectly unfailing mode of rousing him would be to say, artlessly, 'Was there not once a group by John of Bologna in the College?' However sunken in reverie, however dreamily detached, Pater would sit up in a moment, and say, with great acidity, 'It was totally devoid of merit, no doubt.'" *Plato and Platonism* was originally delivered as lectures, and we wonder how far the audience ("keen young students" Mr. Gosse calls them) followed the lecturer. But in the last years of his life his chief tutorial work consisted in reading essays which were voluntarily brought to him by some of the more serious members of the College. His criticism was invariably kind, generally ending in some diffident hint at a possible improvement. He can never have been a very practical guide in matters of "schools," but his few pupils did not forget his words. Specially famous, too, were the dinners which, in company with his friend Dr. F. W. Bussell, the present Vice-Principal of Brasenose, he used to give to undergraduates in his quaint green-panelled rooms. Towards the end he showed signs of becoming a strict disciplinarian, and he used often to wish that Sunday morning chapel were made compulsory. But his attitude towards

the noisy undergraduate life of the place was always kindly and wise. The ordinary commoner of Brasenose is a great and a good man, but he is not always a person of nice perceptions and subtle appreciations. But the life was rough and honest and appealed to a genuine man. Hence he opposed grandmotherly legislation for the Universities. Once in Brasenose Common Room he disconcerted the present Bishop of London with the remark, "I do not know what your object is. At present the undergraduate is a child of nature; you want to turn him into a turnip, rob him of all his grace, and plant him out in rows."

His rooms in Brasenose held often distinguished company, and Bonamy Price, Mr. Swinburne, Dr. Mandell Creighton, and the Rector of Lincoln were often his guests. He disliked the distinguished foreigner, and when such notables visited Brasenose he would disappear till they had gone. Mr. Gosse records a saying of his: "Between you and me and the post, I hate a foreigner." In later years his most intimate friend was Dr. Bussell, and he wrote the letterpress for Mr. Rothenstein's portrait of that gentleman in *Oxford Characters*. As was natural in the case of one with so marked a personality, a whole mythology of Pater stories arose. Many are mere caricatures, some are wholly foolish, but one or two are highly characteristic. Once in the Scholarship examination he was set to read the English

essays, but when the examiners came to compare marks, Pater had none. He could only explain wearily, "They did not much impress me." To help his memory the names were read out in alphabetical order, but he could only shake his head mournfully as each was read and murmur, "I do not recall him." At last came the name of Sanctuary; at once Pater's face brightened up, and he said, "Ah, yes; I remember; I liked his name." His advice to a lecturer on Plato's *Republic* is worth quotation: "Begin by telling them that Socrates is not such a fool as he seems, and you will get through nicely in two terms." And best of all is his famous expression of that love of bonfires which every honest man feels: "I like them; they light up the spire of St. Mary's so beautifully."

But, indeed, the Pater of many tales, the prototype of Mr. Rose in the *New Republic*, who staked his belief in immortality on the beauty of marmalade—"for surely, surely, marmalade can never die"—was never the real man. In a sense he was very modern, for no man felt more keenly the problems of his age, and if one can talk about storm and conflict at all in connection with so placid a life, there was certainly much mental striving, much seeking and toiling in vain efforts to reconcile the eternally irreconcilable. In Mr. Gosse's fine words, "When he tried, as he bade us try, 'to burn always with the hard, gem-like flame' of æsthetic observation,

the flame of another altar mingled with the fire and darkened it. Not easily or surely shall we divine the workings of a brain and a conscience scarcely less complex, less fantastic, less enigmatical, than the face of Mona Lisa herself." And yet with it all Walter Pater belonged to an older and quieter Oxford, an Oxford where talking was still a fine art, and where men had leisure to preserve quaint niceties of conduct and form, and follow select pursuits unchidden. If Lewis Carroll belonged in spirit to the Oxford of croquet and early Victorian manners, and little girls in short frocks and straight-brushed hair, it is equally true that Pater lived and moved in an atmosphere which was still academic and not yet cosmopolitan. It is easy to write hard things of the old Oxford of survivals, but it is simpler to recognise its charm. And that it was a very unique and exquisite quality we are only too willing to admit now that the former things are passing away.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

IN bringing a sketch of a college's history to a close, it is the habit of historians to embark on theories of college character and college spirit. I am not sure if any such pocket epigrams are very accurate, for you cannot label a place "intellectual" or "sporting" without cheapening the terms themselves, and doing a grave injustice. But one can say very distinctly what epithets Brasenose does not merit. Its history has been the history of a reaction ending in a compromise, the conservative without the fanatical. In the best sense of the word it has held a middle place, without at any time descending to mediocrity. It has never fallen into a clumsy conventional orthodoxy; nor, on the other hand, has it gone after strange fashions and crude enthusiasms. It has attained to high distinction, frequently in the schools, and almost consistently in sport. If it has been untouched by most of the countless crazes which at intervals agitate Oxford, it is not by any means because the College is a backwater of University

life, but because it has better things to occupy its attention. Blue china, amateur road-making, and undergraduate politics will have small attraction for those whose minds are set on sensible pursuits. Of course this extreme healthiness of spirit lends itself to caricature, and there is a libellous story of an unlucky man in past days who so far departed from a supposed College tradition as to be classed in some Honours school, and was promptly put under a pump by his irate contemporaries.

It is a notable fact that of Oxford colleges Brasenose is one of the most familiar, even to those who have no knowledge of the place. This may partly be attributed to the curious name, partly to the unequalled sporting record, which made the College familiar at Henley and Lord's, and partly to its undoubted social distinction in past centuries. The name came into English proverbial literature as early as the time of Henry VIII., for when that monarch debased the coinage, it was said that "testons had gone to Oxford to study in Brazen-nose." The College is frequently mentioned in Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Georgian plays, and in modern fiction it is perhaps more common than its friends desire. It may or may not be the original of St. Boniface in *Pendennis*, but it was certainly the college of "Verdant Green," though the sportive author confuses matters by talking of the chance of Brazenface bumping

Brasenose, and of rejoicings in the former College because the Brasenose boy had been seen with a cigar in his mouth, and also eating pastry in Hall. But Verdant's supposed rooms are still pointed out, two sets, one on the Kitchen staircase, and one on No. VI. being rivals for the honour. The latter look out both on the old Quadrangle and on Radcliffe Square, but apparently the former have the better claim, for the hero's window "was said to look with a sunny aspect down upon the quad, while, over the opposite buildings, were seen the spires of the churches, the dome of the Radcliffe, and the gables, pinnacles, and turrets of other colleges." "You could not find a much better college than Brazenface," was the advice of Mr. Larkyns, the rector. "It always stands well in the class-list and keeps a good name with its tutors. They are a nice, gentlemanly set of men there." The portrait of the mild Dr. Portman would, perhaps, scarcely pass for Cleaver or Hodson, but the Hall with its *louvre* is rightly described.

"Perceiving on one side a row of large windows, with buttresses between, and a species of steeple on the high-pitched roof, he made bold (just to try the effect) to address Mr. Filcher by the name assigned to him at an early period of life by his godfathers and godmothers, and inquired if that building was the chapel.

"'No, sir,' replied Robert, 'that there's the 'All, sir,

that is,—where you dines, sir, leastways when you ain't 'aeger' or elseweer. That at the top is the lantern, sir, *that* is; called so because it never has no candle in it.' ”

Verdant is elaborately crammed on the subject of the Brazen nose much as Sorbière was deceived two centuries before.

“They had now turned round by the west end of St. Mary's, and were passing Brasenose; and Mr. Larkyns drew Verdant's attention to the brazen nose that is such a conspicuous object over the entrance gate. ‘That,’ said he, ‘was modelled from a cast of the principal feature of the first Head of the College; and so the college was named Brazen-nose. The nose was formerly used as a place of punishment for any misbehaving Brazenosian, who had to sit upon it for two hours, and was not *countenanced* till he had done so. These punishments were so frequent that they gradually wore down the nose to its present small dimensions.’ ”

Readers of Mr. Blackmore will remember in *Cripps the Carrier* the Reverend Thomas Hardenow, fellow and tutor of Brasenose, “the most popular tutor (being the only one who ever tried to teach).” His ideas of work were fundamentally wrong in the eyes of the other tutors, but “he was permitted to have his own way because of the trouble there might be in stopping him.” He lived before the days of athletics and training, and by way of keeping his men in good trim he used to take

some dozen of them for a fifteen-mile walk of an afternoon—a “very admirable coat-tail chase,” Mr. Blackmore calls it. It is in his rooms that the famous dialogue between Cripps and Russel Overshute takes place.

“Thus was he led through well-known ways to the modest gate of Brasenose, which, being passed, he went up a staircase near the unpretentious hall of that very good society. ‘Why am I here?’ thought Cripps, but, with his usual resignation, added, ‘I have a-seed finer places nor this.’ This, in the range of his great experience, doubtless was an established truth. But even his view of the breadth of the world received a little twist of wonder when, over a narrow dark doorway, he read—for read he could—these words: ‘Rev. Thomas Hardenow.’ ‘May I be danged,’ said Cripps, ‘if I ever come across such a queer thing as this here be.’

“However, he quelled his emotions and followed the lengthy-striding Overshute into a long low room containing uncommonly little furniture. There was no one there, except Overshute, and a scout, who flitted away in ripe haste with an order upon the Buttery.

“‘Now, Cripps, didst thou ever taste college ale?’ Mr. Overshute asked, as he took a chair like the dried bones of Ezekiel. ‘Master Carrier, here thou hast the tokens of a new and important movement. In my time chairs were comfortable, but they make them now only to mortify the flesh.’

“‘Did your Worship mean me to sit down?’ asked Cripps,

touching the forelock which he kept combed for that purpose.

“‘Certainly, Cripps. Be not critical ; but sit.’

“‘I thank your Worship kindly,’ he answered, with little cause for gratitude. ‘I have a-druv many thousand mile on a seat no worse nor this, perhaps.’

“‘Your reservation is wise, my friend. Your driving-board must have been velvet to this. But the new lights are not in our Buttery yet. If they get there, they will have the worst of it. Here comes the tankard ! Well done, old Hooper. Score a gallon to me for my family.’

“‘With pleasure, sir,’ answered Hooper truly, while he set on the table a tray filled with solid luncheon. ‘Ah, I see you remember the good old times, when there was those in this college, sir, that never thought twice about keeping down the flesh ; and better flesh, sir, they had ever so much than these as are always a-doctoring of it. Ah, when I comes to recall to my mind what my father said to me when first he led me in under King Solomon’s nose. “Bob, my boy,” he says to me——’”

“‘Now, Hooper, I know that his advice was good. The fruit thereof is in yourself. You shall tell me all about it the very next time I come to see you.’

“‘Ah, they never cares now to hearken,’ said Hooper to himself, as, with the resignation of an ancient scout, he coughed and bowed and stroked the cloth and contemplated Cripps with mild surprise, and then made a quiet exit. As for listening at the door, a good scout scorns such benefit. He likes to help himself to something more solid than the words behind him.”

And so Cripps falls on the luncheon and talks, and gives at the end in his usual fashion his verdict on the ale—"better I have tasted, but not often."

If in Mr. Blackmore's story we have a portrait of the Brasenose tutor and the College servant, in Henry Kingsley's *Ravenshoe* we have a sketch of the Brasenose undergraduate of the early 'fifties. It was in the company of a Brasenose man that Charles Ravenshoe had the "noble stramash on Folly-bridge," as he told Lieutenant Hornby. When the hero is rusticated, Mr. Marker of Brasenose sends him the news of the place in a letter which is in its way a typical production of a certain class of Oxford man in past days.

"Mr. Marker, of Brazenose, began by remarking that—

"He didn't know what was come over the place; it was getting confoundedly slow, somehow. They had had another Bloomer ball at Abingdon, but the thing was a dead failure, sir. Jemmy Dane, of University, had driven two of them home in a cart, by way of Nuneham. He had passed the Pro's at Magdalen turnpike, and they never thought of stopping him, by George. Their weak intellects were not capable of conceiving such glorious audacity. Both the Proctors were down at Coldharbour turnpike, stopping every man who came from Abingdon way. About forty men had been rusticated over this business, and some good fellows, too." (Here followed a list of names, which I could produce if necessary; but seeing that some names

on the list are now rising at the Bar or in the Church, think it better not.) "Pembroke had won the Fours, very much in consequence of Exeter having gone round the flag, and, on being made to row again, of fouling them in the Gut. The water was out heavily, and had spoilt the boating. The Christchurch Grind had been slow, but the best that year. L——n was going down, and they said was going to take the Pychley. C——n was pretty safe of his first—so reading men said. Martin, of Trinity, had got his testamur, at which event astonishment, not unmixed with awe, had fallen on the University generally. That he himself was in for his *vivâ voce* two days after date, and he wished himself out of the hands of his enemies."

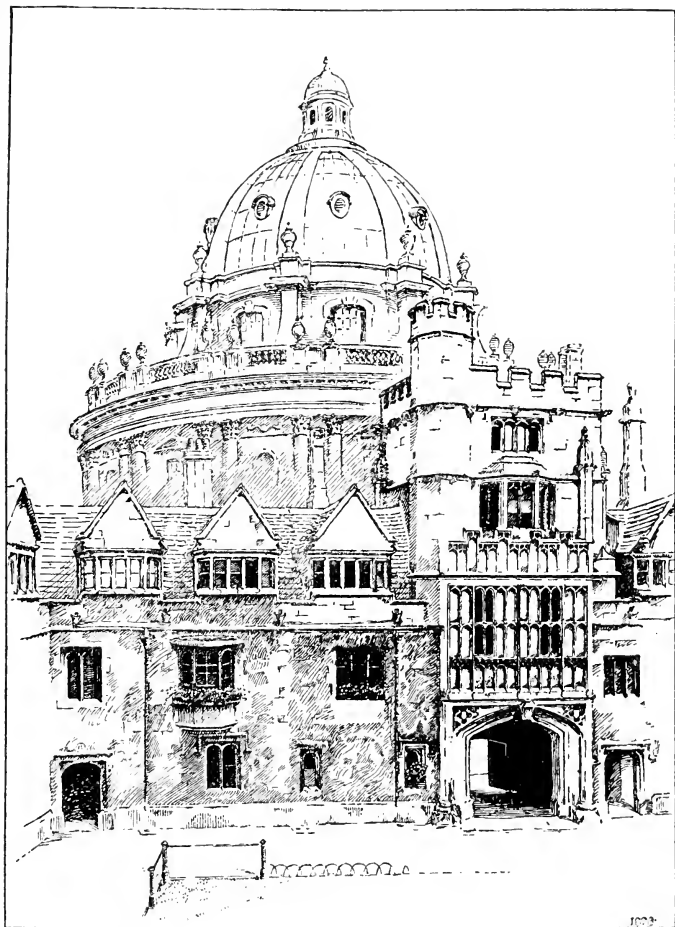
Mr. Kipling, too, has taken the name of the College for his excellent Lieutenant in the "Taking of Lungtungpen." Parodied to "Brazenface," it occasionally figures in *Punch* as the stronghold of the humorous undergraduate, and in the pages of a certain agreeable story-teller it is a synonym for Philistia. The fame of a certain epigrammatist had penetrated everywhere—even, it was said, to Brasenose. In the works of the ordinary lady-novelist it is the chosen home of desperate sporting people who row in the boats untrained, and have magnificent race-meetings in the Port Meadow.

A catalogue of distinguished living *alumni* of a college would be out of place in a short sketch of its

history. In letters of late years it has been peculiarly prominent, as a glance at the imposing collection of Brasenose authors in the Library will show. Among those who have been connected with the College, scholarship is represented by Professor Lodge of Glasgow, Professor Balwin Brown of Edinburgh, Professor Rucker, and the present Provost of Eton; literature by Mr. Humphrey Ward; the Service by Lord Chesterfield, a former captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-arms; the Church by Canon Hicks, the archæologist, the Dean of Rochester and the Dean of Manchester; and the Law by Judge Baylis, Q.C., the Presiding Judge of the Lord Mayor's Court of Passage since 1876.

If one can talk of college spirit as something which persists through the generations, it may not be wrong to say that in Brasenose a certain pertinacity, vigour and clannishness are the dominant qualities. It has always had abundant enthusiasm in its pursuits, and at times has shown that brave industry in a losing game which is the chief ingredient in the fine virtue of pluck. Perhaps it has now and then shown some disregard for the ornamental side of life, a fault, if it be a fault, which is almost praiseworthy. Who shall blame the College if it has once and again taken Weir of Hermiston's words to itself?—"I have no call to be bonny. I'm a man that gets through with my day's business, and let that suffice." Elegance is so often the hand-

maid of incompetence, and wholesome roughness is always welcome in a foppish world. So much for a tradition. Those to whom the grey old-fashioned walls are endeared by memories are willing to believe that a College which has always held a high place in the sport and social life of Oxford has also won, and will continue to maintain, a place of distinction in the humaner arts.



From a drawing]

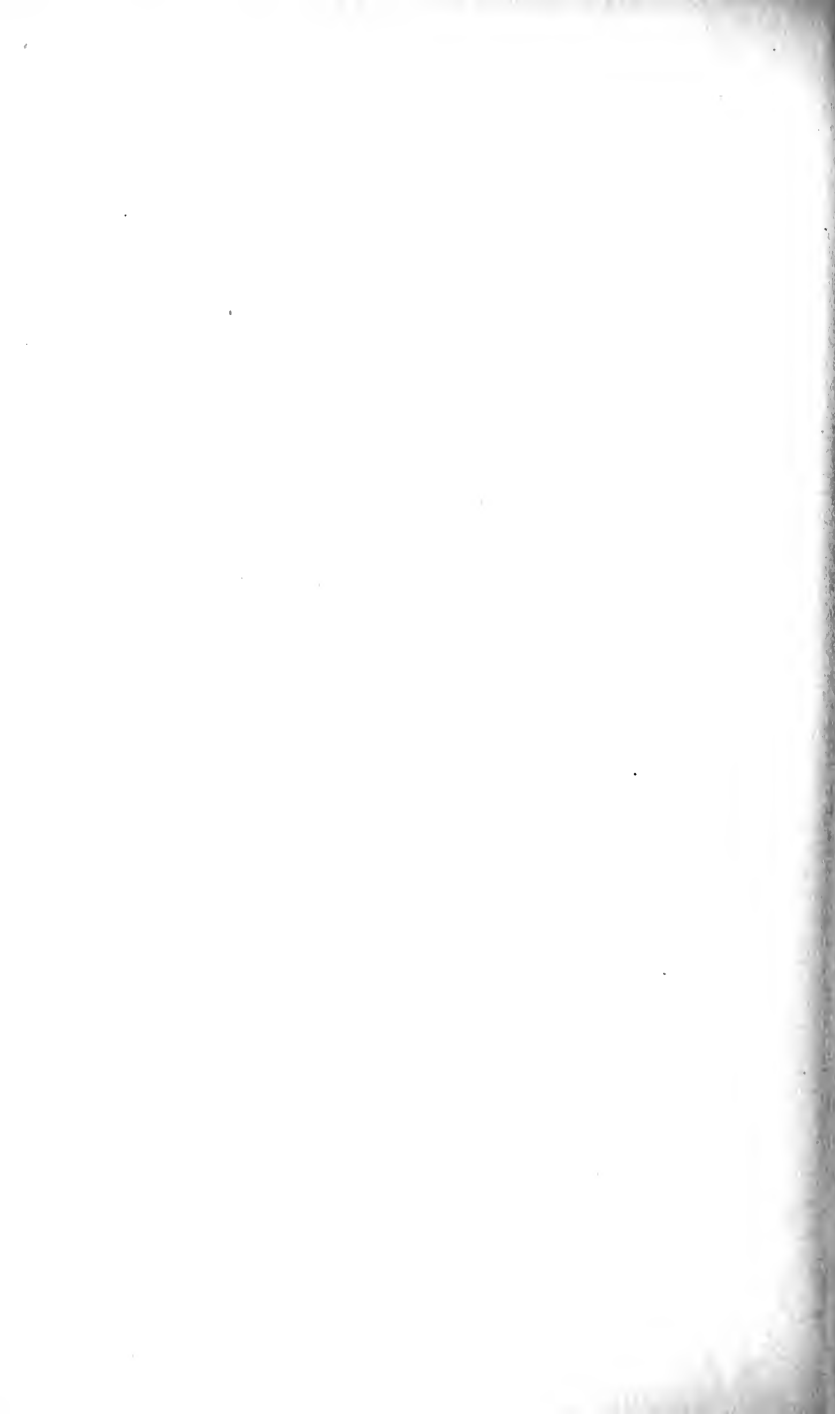
[by B. C. Boulter

VIEW OF RADCLIFFE CAMERA

FROM WINDOW IN OLD QUADRANGLE



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

PRINCIPALS OF BRASENOSE HALL.

Circa

- 1435. William Long, B.A.
- 1436. R. Marcham or Markham, M.A.
- 1438. Roger Grey.
- 1444. R. Marcham, *bis*.
- 1451. William Curth or Church, M.A. *d.* 1461.
- 1461. William Braggys, M.A.
- 1461. William Wryxham, M.A.
- 1462. William Braggys, *bis*.
- 1462. John Molyneux.
- 1462. Henry Molineux (?).
- 1465. Adam Heylle. (*See* Oriel Treasurer's Accounts,
May 13, 1465.)
- 1469. William Sutton, M.A.
- 1501 } Edmund Croston, M.A., who died Jan. 27,
- 1503 } 150 $\frac{7}{8}$; his brass is in St. Mary's Church.
- 1502 } John Formby, M.A.; resigned Aug. 24,
- 1505 } 1510.
- 1508-1510 }
- 1510-1512. Matthew Smyth, B.D.

PRINCIPALS OF THE COLLEGE.

Elected

1512. Matthew Smyth.

(*Original Fellows*: John Haster, John Formby, Roland Messenger, John Legh. Soon after: Richard Shirwood, Richard Gunston, Simon Starkey, Richard Ridge, Hugh Charnock, Ralph Bostock.)

15 $\frac{4}{8}$, Feb. 27. John Hawarden.

15 $\frac{6}{8}$, Feb. Thomas Blanchard.

15 $\frac{7}{4}$, Feb. 16. Richard Harrys.

1595, Sept. 6. Alexander Nowell.

1595, Dec. 29. Thomas Singleton.

1614, Dec. 14. Samuel Radcliffe (ejected by the Oxford Commissioners Jan. 6, 1647; died June 26, 1648).

1648, April 13. Daniel Greenwood (ejected Aug. 10, 1660.)

1648, July 13. Thomas Yate (ejected, but reinstated Aug. 10, 1660).

1681, May 7. John Meare.

1710, June 2. Robert Shippen.

1745, Dec. 10. Francis Yarborough.

1770, May 10. William Gwyn.

1770, Sept. 4. Ralph Cawley.

1777, Sept. 14. Thomas Barker.

1785, Sept. 10. William Cleaver.

- 1809, June 21. Frodsham Hodson.
1822, Feb. 2. Ashurst Turner Gilbert.
1842, June 9. Richard Harington.
1853, Dec. 7. Edward Hartopp Cradock.
1886, Feb. 26. Albert Watson.
1889, Oct. 1. Charles Buller Heberden.

APPENDIX B

IN the *Munimenta Academica* four lists of the Halls and their Principals are recorded during the fifteenth century. As I have dealt in the text with Brasenose Hall alone, it seems only fair to print in an appendix such facts as are known about the other Halls which equally went to the making of the College. In the lists Brasenose is generally referred to as *Aula Aenea*. In the same lists we sometimes find more than one Principal for the same Hall, which would seem to point to brief tenures of office. The names of sureties are also given, in some cases the Master himself, but oftener non-collegians.

1438.

Principalis aulæ "Brasenose" Magister R. (oger) Grey. Fidejussores, Petrus Schotesbroke, Wykham,* bedellus.

Principalis aulæ "Salesurry" (Salisbury), Magister J. Northfolke, item per tenemento (?) nomine Magistri J. Wylley.

* Perhaps the William Wryxham who was Principal in 1461.

Principalis aulæ Vitreæ (Glass Hall), Magister Johannes Malteby.

Principalis aulæ Stapulinæ * (Staple Hall), Magister J. Trope.

Principalis aulæ Nigræ in vico Scholarum, Magister Multone, per Kumberwerth.

Principalis aulæ "Haburdashe" (Haberdashers' Hall), Ricardus Folcarde.

Principalis aulæ "Yvy" juxta "*Brasenose*," ex-burhale; fidejussores Thomas Avere, Johannes Wikham.

(Of the last place, "Ivy Hall," near Brasenose, I can find no other trace.)

1451.

Aula parva Nigra in vico Scholarum, nomine Magistri Tenawute.

Aula Vitrea, nomine Magistri Wulstani Browne.

Aula Aenea, nomine Magistri W. Chirche.

Aula parva Universitatis in vico Scholarum, nomine W. Altophthe.

Aula "Haburdashe," nomine Magistri Petri Parys.

Aula "Salesbury," nomine Magistri Walteri Hopton.

Aula S. Edmundi in vico Scholarum, nomine Magistri Roberti Cary.

* A *Statutum pro Determinatoribus* (circa 1409) decides the site of the obscure Staple Hall. It must have been on the E. side of Schools Street.

Aula Stapulina, nomine Magistri Henrici Danyell.

1458.

Magister Chirch, nomine proprio, pro aula "Brasynose," fidejussor Thomas M. de Brasnose (?).

Magister Chirch, nomine Magistri Johannis Molyneux, pro "*Seynte Mary entre*" in vico Scholarum, fidejussores Thomas M. de Brasnose et Johannes Wybymbury.

Magister Wilhelmus Greene, nomine Magistri Henrici Gellis, pro "*Stapul-Halle.*"

Magister Johannes Tregansown nomine Magistri Roberti Abdy pro "Blak-Halle."

Magister Symon Fosdyke nomine Magistri Thomæ Jolyff, pro aula Vitrea.

Robertus Skarlett, nomine Magistri Johannis Redyng, pro "Haburdash Halle."

Magister Chirch, nomine Roberti Benet, pro "Salesurry" in vico Scholarum.

Magister Johannes Attewille nomine Magistri Johannis Brecon, pro "Stapulle Halle."

1462.

Pro Aula "Haburdasche" Magister Johannes Cornysche.

Pro Aula Aenea Magister W. Braggys, nomine suo proprio.

Idem, Magister pro Aula Universitatis in vico Scholarum, nomine domini Johannis Warnar.

Pro aula Vitrea Magister Bonifacius Blundell nomine Magistri J. Gregory.

Idem Bonifacius exhibuit cautionem pro aula Aenea nomine suo proprio.

Pro parva aula Universitatis in vico Scholarum Magister W. Gregeforde.

Pro aula Aenea in vico Scholarum, Magister Johannes Molyneux.

Idem Magister Johannes pro aula parva S. Thomæ infra præinctum Aulæ Aeneæ, nomine Magistri Henrici Molyneux.*

Etiam pro gardino juxta aulam S. Thomæ, nomine Magistri Adami Hele. [This Adam Hele or Heylle is mentioned in the Oriel Treasurer's Account for May 13, 1465, as Principal of Brasenose Hall.]

Idem pro parvo introitu S. Mariæ in vico Scholarum, nomine Magistri J. Lane.

Pro aula Stapulina, dominus Johannes Hurste, nomine Magistri Henrici Gellys.

Magister W. Bragg (or Braggys) exhibuit fidejussores pro aula Aenea, Thomam Stremer, W. Caterike, et Robertum Geffray.

Magister Henricus Molyneux exhibuit fidejussores pro eadem aula Aenea, W. Gryffyn et Nicholaum Kele.

* This is the only mention I can find of a St. Thomas's Hall within the precincts of Brasenose Hall. It may have been a small institution governed by a relative of the then Principal of Brasenose, J. Molyneux.

APPENDIX C

AN INDENTURE OF THE GOODS OF MASTER THOMAS
COOPER OF BRASENOSE HALL, FOUND LOCKED UP IN
HIS ROOM WHEN IT WAS BROKEN OPEN BY ORDER OF
THE CHANCELLOR. JULY 31, 1438.*

Memorandum, quod hæc est una copia indenturæ
cujusdam, cujus una pars remanet penes Magistrum
Johannem Gorsuch, sacrae Theologiæ Professore, pro
tunc venerabilis viri Magistri Johannis Carpenter, pars
penes Magistrum Rogerum Grey, principalem aula de
Brasenose, de quibusdam bonis ab eo receptis, Magistro
Thomæ Cooper pertinentibus, in quodam studio ejus-
dem aulæ contentis, de mandato Cancellarii in præsentia
virorum subsequentium aperto, et eidem Magistro
Rogero deliberatis, cujus tenor est talis.

Hæc indentura, facta ultimo die mensis Julii, anno
Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo,
testatur, quod hæc sunt bona reperta in studio clauso
quondam Magistri Thomæ Cooper, per decretum Can-

* *Munimenta Academica*, p. 514, &c.

cellarii aperto in præsentia Magistri Johannis Northfolk,* domini Johannis Gothill, vicarii ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Oxoniæ, Wilhelmi Gryffyn † et David Glower.

In primis, unus liber Homeliarum, secundo folio in textu "*peccato absolvitur.*"

Item, alius libri codex, secundo folio "*quam plurimas.*"

Item, magna cista cerata.

Item, una cathedra.

Item, una mensa cum tripodibus.

Item, unum lectrinum, videlicet cum cistula et cum quatuor tabulis antiquis superpositis.

Item, unus vetustus abacus.

Item, una antiqua cithara.

Item, una "*lute*" fracta.

Item, una securis.

Item, unum par tripodum.

Item, unus gladius.

Item, duæ baslardæ vetustæ.

Item, "*one mortar and pestelle.*"

Item, una olla ænea cum fracto pede.

Item, quatuor parvæ tabulæ longitudinis duorum pedum.

Item, duodecim veteres disci ligni.

Item, una tabula quinque pedum cum uno "*legge.*"

Item, pes unius lectrini.

Item, one "*twister*" ferri.

* Perhaps the Principal of Salisbury Hall in 1438. See Appendix B.

† Surety (fidejussor) for Brasenose Hall in 1462.

Item, unus arcus cum viginti sagittis.

Item, unum par folium.

Item, una antiqua mantica.

Item, unum par cultellorum trium in una vagina unius sectæ, cum manubriis rotundis de "*dogyn*" argentatis.

Item, *Boëthius* super libro Porphyrii, secundo folio "*confirmat.*"

Item, Commentarium *Boëthii* Aristotelis prædicamenta, secundo folio "*ait æquivoca.*"

Item, Ovidius, *De Remedio Amoris*.

Item, liber geometricæ, secundo folio N. F. D.

Quæ sunt omnia bona alicujus valoris in prædicto studio contenta.

Hæc bona fuerunt prædicto Magistro Thomæ Cooper.

We know nothing of Master Cooper's status in the College, but the furnishing of his room would argue something more than the undergraduate. It is a queer medley with its bow and arrows and its old cloak, its broken lute, and Ovid's *Cure for Love*.

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF DEAN NOWELL TO LORD BURGHLEY, CONCERNING HIS OWN AND HIS BROTHER ROBERT'S BENEFACTIONS TO BRASENOSE COLLEGE.*

"I beseeche y^r good Lordshipp to take this as written at y^r Lordshipp's commandment, and as by an exequutor, readie to gyve accompt unto y^r Lordshipp, beyng overseer of my brothers wylle, specially uppon some complaynt mayde of me unto y^r lordshipp, rather than as proceeding of vanitie in boastyng of that, which ought with silence to be layd upp in the lappe of the poore, and in Godde's memorie only.

My brother *Robert*, late attorney of her Ma^{ties} courte of wardes, about vi houres before he dyed, said unto me: *Forget not Myddleton Schole, and the College of Brasen-nose, where we were brought upp in our youth; and yf yow wolde procure any thyng to continue, with my money, yow shall doe it beste and moste surely in the Quenes Ma^{ties} name, whose poore officer I have bene.* And uppon those woords I was occasioned to thinke of

* From MSS. Burghley LXXXII., No. 48,⁵ dated with a pencil on the back "1596" (Churton's *Life of Nowell*).

the fundation of *Myddelton* Schole, & of certen scholars to be chosen out of that schole unto the college of *Brasen-nose*, ther to be maynteyned with certen exhibition.

And fyrste for three yers space, before I obteyned the saide fundation I sent yerely xx^{li} to the principall and fellowes of that college to be bestowed uppon vi poore scholars. And whan by y^r Lordshipps and S^r Walter Myldmays meanes I had obteyned the fundation of the schole, her Maiestie most graciously and bounteously gyvyng frely that xx^{li} yerely for ever, which I wold have purchased of her Ma^{tie}. I was therby more inflamed to goe through with that which I fyrste intended. I purchased in reversion of the Lorde *Cheny* the manor of *Uppebury*, with the parsonage of *Gyllyng-ham* in the countie of *Kente*, which is worth one hundred marks or more yerely: for the which I payed my lorde ix^{cli} an x^{li} with a purse of xl^s to my ladie for her consent.

And for that my lorde *Cheny* hath reserved unto hym selffe the rente, duryng hys lieffe, I prayed M^r Auditor *Tooke*, who in consideration of a lease of *Esyndon* in the countie of *Hertford*, was contented to pay me yerely xv^{li} for the space of xvi yeares, to assure the same unto the college of *Brasen-nose*, which I do yerely make upp to the somme of xx^{li} to the use of vi poore scholars, in the saide college, named in the fundation Quene *Elizabeths* scholars. And I payed to M^r *Henrie Poole* of

Dalby in *Leicestershyre* who maide a title to the saide *Esyndon* for hys interest cxx^{li}.

And for that the lower chambers of the college were dampeshe and unholosome beyng unboarded, I caused the same throghly to be boarded, which cost above xl^{li}.

The mortmaynes, fynes, licence of Alienation, fees, fyne and recouerie of *Uppbury* and *Gyllyngham*, wrytinge in sette hand of the fundation, and twoe exemplifications under the Great Seale: exemplification of my lorde *Chenys* evidence under the Great Seale, with other wrytyngs coste above one hundreth pounds, as I have in particulars to showe.

I have dealte with my lorde *Cheny* to purchase hys interest for terme of hys lieffe, that I might put the college in full possession, as well of the rente as of the lands; which yf I could compasse, ther shold be xiii scholars founde in *Brasen-nose*; and the husher of the schole hys wages sholde be mayde upp x^{li}, which yet but vi^{li} viii^s iiiii^d.

I had allso buylded er now, a fayre scholehowse with lodgyngs for the schole m^r and husher, savyng that yonge M^r *Ashton*, lorde of *Myddleton*, beynge under age can make noe assurance of the grounde, wheruppon to buylde the same. I wyll bestow, or leave to that use with the college uppon bond yf I dye before, two hundreth marks at the leaste.

And for that my saide brother not longe before hys death, delyverynge me hys key of the cheste, wheare hys

other keys were, and hys rynge allso, prayed me not to deceyve hym, but that the poore shold have all hys goods, hys debtes, legacies, and funeralls beyng fyrste discharged; for that he made y^r good Lordshipp overseer, I think I am occasioned therby summarily to shewe how the reste of hys goods were bestowed. And I dare to advouche to shewe y^r lordshipp in particulars, with the names of persons."

The following sentences from a letter of March 18, 159 $\frac{4}{5}$ (MSS. LXXVIII. No. 18) show the difficulties which attended the bequest:

"My humble duty to y^r honorable lordshipp remembered: Mighte it please the same favourably to hear mine and my brother Roberts sometime attorney in the Court of Wardes his humble suite in his last wylle and testament, by the words written in the schedule inclosed, who specially charged me upon his death-bed to procure the fundation of *Myddleton* Schule in the countie of *Lancaster*, where we and other o^r brethren were taught in o^r childhoode, & the said Schole to be annexed unto *Brasen-nose* Colledge in Ox^{fd} wher we were poor students in the time of o^r youthe."

Then follows an account of the foundation of the School "by y^r Lordshipps and S^r Walter Mildmays commendation of my humble suit," to her Majesty, and of the dispute with Sir Edward Hody or Hoby, who had "holden the estates by coler of a Lease made by the

lord *Cheyney*, now by the space of six yeares and more —whereby the college was inforced lastly to seek their remedie by the law and did brynge an action against him, for part of the said arrearages to the value of v^{cl}.—By means of all which long suits and delays continuing now five yeares and more, the said college is greatly impoverished & her Ma^{ties} xiii poore scholars are shortly to forsake the University, and her Highness free Schole, so lately by her graciously founded, is in danger to be dissolved; unless it might please y^r honourable lordshipp of y^r authority (which the s^d S^r Edward doth most reverence) to bring him to some reason; unto the which, if he did know that y^r good lordshipp did mislike of his such dealings, he would, we trust, be brought: wherby three hundreth poor scholars and students shall be bounden continually to pray for y^r good Lordshipp unto Almighty God, Who have the same, and all y^{rs}, always in His most blessed keeping and protection.

Martii 1594

y^r honorable Lordshipps
humble at commandm^t.

ALEXANDER NOWELL

Superscribed “To the rytt honorable, my verie good lord, the Lord Highe Tresaur^r of England.”

APPENDIX E

THE VERSES INSCRIBED ON THE PICTURE OF JOYCE FRANKLAND IN BRASENOSE HALL.

“ Trapsi nata sui, Saxy sponsata marito,
Guilelmo mater visa beata meo,
Mors matura patrem, sors abstulet atra maritum,
Filius heu rapida morte peremptus obit.
Parca quid insultas ? quasi nunc effeceris orbam ?
En ego multiplici prole beata magis.
Me namque agnoscit studiis Domus Aenea matrem,
Prole sua semper nobilitata domus ;
Digna domus meritis, et læta et grata patronæ :
Sola mea est soli laus placuisse Deo.”

Anno Dom. 1586, *ætat* 55.

“In one of the windows of the Hall were formerly these arms for Frankland : Argent : on a bend cotised, Azure, three Eagles displayed of the first, the motto ‘ *Virtuti fortuna cedit.*’

Impaling for Trapps, Quarterly, first and fourth, Argent, three Caltraps, sable. Second and third,

Azure, a chevron between three crosses patee, Or. The motto, 'Suffer and serve.' Which impalement was encompassed about with this inscription; '*Vende quod habes, et da pauperibus*'" (Wood's *Colleges*, p. 368).

Joyce Frankland's portrait—as also Dean Nowell's—is finely engraved in Churton's *Life of Nowell*. The watch which the good lady holds in her hand is a hunting one of a curious pattern.

APPENDIX F

EXTRACTS FROM VICE-PRINCIPALS' REGISTER.

I.—FEB. 15, 1810.

Convocation having lately revived a statute prohibiting more strictly than ever residence out of college, in order to comply with this statute it was necessary either to reduce the number of the members or increase that of the rooms. The reduction not being practicable without great present inconvenience to many individuals lately admitted, and still greater injury to many parts of our establishment, it was resolved as a lesser evil that twelve rooms should be built on the quad. commonly called the Fellows' Garden.

II.—APRIL 26, 1821.

His most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII., King of France, having during a short visit to the University in the year 1808 (?) graciously condescended to accept on Jan. 11th of the hospitality of the Principal and Fellows of the College, and to partake of a cold

collation, which he was pleased to permit to be served in the Hall to himself and the distinguished persons in his suite;—It had long been determined by the Seniority to record that event so honourable to this Society by the erection of some appropriate monument. Accordingly on this day there was placed in its destined situation in the South window over the Daïs in the Hall the painted glass which had been ordered for that purpose, exhibiting in the two central compartments the arms of England and France surmounted each by the proper crown and flanked in the next compartments respectively by the Collars of the Royal Orders of the Garter and the Holy Ghost, likewise surmounted by the crown proper to the sovereign. In the nearest lateral compartments succeed the arms together with their crests of the Principal of that time and of the present Principal, auspiciously supported, and the whole enclosed by those of our pious Founder in the extreme divisions.

III.

(This is a pathetic correspondence between the Fellows and Principal of Brasenose and the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln. It shows a sudden poverty in the College, which was little more than a century old.)

To the right honourable and reverend father in God, John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, the honourable

Visitour of Brasen-nose Colledge in Oxford, the humble Petition of the Principall, and fellowes of the said Colledge.

Whereas James Mason, Batchelour in Divinity, and fellowe of Brasen-nose Colledge lately deceased, indebted to severall Bursars, during the time of his sickness for severall yeares, in a great summe of money; by which meanes the said Bursars are not able to paye Bakers and Brewers, to the scandall of the Colledge; and, for as much as neither the execution of statute or decree was able to prevent this debt, being for meat and drinke, unlesse we should have suffered him, sick and weake in body as he was, without naturall compassion and fellow-feeling to have famished in Prison, as also during that time his weaknes disinabled him to reade to Schollars; neither had he any frend or kinsman that would either then releive him, or whom we can hope for now: soe as there was a necessitie of falling into the debt, which in regard of the slendernes of our revennewes we cannot beare :

We, the Principall and fellowes of the said Colledge, whose names are under-written, most humbly pray and beseech that your lordshipp wilbe pleased, out of your lordshipps accustomed and speciall care of the welfare of our Colledge, with favour to interprett that clause of the statute in Cap : 6 de electione Sociorum (absque omni dolo et fraude intra quadraginta dies alius eligatur): that we may *keepe his fellow-ship voyde* till

the proffits have discharged soe necessarie and un-
avoydable a debt.

The Bishop of Lincoln replied :—

To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Radcliffe,
Principall of Brasen-nose Colledge and the fellowes of
the same.

After my verie harty commendaciouns, Whereas I am
given to understand, you are to proceede to the election
of a new fellow into your Colledge at or before Saturday
the xxist of this instant June, according to the time
limited by your Statutes: Yet, notwithstanding, in
regard of an accident hapned in your College, which (as
I am informed) doth much concerne your election and
the state of your Colledge: I doe grant you full
permission to *deferr the said election* for six monthes to
commence from the said xxist day of this month: at
or before which time you shall receive further order
from me concerning this business. And soe I committ
you to God, restinge

Your very lovinge freind,

JO. LINCOLN.

APPENDIX G

I.—STATISTICS.

Census of the College, Aug. 1552:—Principal, 8 M.A.'s, 12 B.A.'s, 49 who had not taken a degree, including the steward and the cook; in all 70 in residence.

Census in 156 $\frac{5}{8}$:—Principal, 31 graduates, 57 undergraduate scholars and commoners, 8 poor scholars, 5 matriculated servants: in all 102 names on the books.

Census in 1612:—Principal, 21 Fellows, 29 Scholars, 145 Commoners, 17 poor scholars, 14 batellers and matriculated servants: in all 227 members in residence. Revenue £600 a year. Principal's income £80.—(Gutch, *Miscellanea Curiosa*. Oxford, 1781. I. p. 197.)

Census in 1891:—Principal, 13 Fellows, 26 Scholars, 20 Exhibitioners, 75 Commoners.

II.—LIST OF BRASENOSE MATRICULATIONS.

1576 . . .	21	1601 . . .	27
1577 . . .	19	1602 . . .	35
1578 . . .	70	1603 . . .	19
1579 . . .	50	1604 . . .	33
1580 . . .	29	1605 . . .	41
1581 . . .	45	1606 . . .	31
1582 . . .	38	1607 . . .	17
1583 . . .	22	1608 . . .	6
1584 . . .	24	1609 . . .	43
1585 . . .	20	1610 . . .	45
1586 . . .	25	1611 . . .	4
1587 . . .	28	1612 . . .	3
1588 . . .	18	1613 . . .	—
1589 . . .	50	1614 . . .	—
1590 . . .	29	1615 . . .	30
1591 . . .	11	1616 . . .	34
1592 . . .	29	1617 . . .	90
1593 . . .	15	1618 . . .	8
1594 . . .	52	1619 . . .	9
1595 . . .	14	1620 . . .	29
1596 . . .	17	1621 . . .	55
1597 . . .	26	1622 . . .	41
1598 . . .	35	1623 . . .	33
1599 . . .	30	1624 . . .	33
1600 . . .	14	1625 . . .	30
		1626 . . .	41

1627 . . .	42	1654 . . .	20
1628 . . .	20	1655 . . .	23
1629 . . .	43	1656 . . .	26
1630 . . .	32	1657 . . .	17
		1658 . . .	24
1631 . . .	44	1659 . . .	35
1632 . . .	34	1660 . . .	26
1633 . . .	26		
1634 . . .	39	1661 . . .	34
1635 . . .	27	1662 . . .	24
1636 . . .	29	1663 . . .	22
1637 . . .	28	1664 . . .	32
1638 . . .	31	1665 . . .	24
1639 . . .	19	1666 . . .	19
1640 . . .	24	1667 . . .	26
		1668 . . .	24
1641 . . .	16	1669 . . .	20
1642 . . .	14	1670 . . .	35
1643 . . .	4		
1644 . . .	2	1671 . . .	29
1645 . . .	—	1672 . . .	35
1646 . . .	8	1673 . . .	34
1647 . . .	13	1674 . . .	31
1648 . . .	12	1675 . . .	31
1649 . . .	34	1676 . . .	33
1650 . . .	26	1677 . . .	15
		1678 . . .	23
1651 . . .	27	1679 . . .	13
1652 . . .	22	1680 . . .	30
1653 . . .	35		

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1681 . . .	32	1708 . . .	23
1682 . . .	19	1709 . . .	20
1683 . . .	25	1710 . . .	24
1684 . . .	25		
1685 . . .	21	1711 . . .	27
1686 . . .	25	1712 . . .	26
1687 . . .	16	1713 . . .	25
1688 . . .	17	1714 . . .	28
1689 . . .	23	1715 . . .	16
1690 . . .	16	1716 . . .	34
		1717 . . .	17
1691 . . .	28	1718 . . .	25
1692 . . .	19	1719 . . .	20
1693 . . .	24	1720 . . .	27
1694 . . .	26		
1695 . . .	22	1721 . . .	26
1696 . . .	31	1722 . . .	22
1697 . . .	26	1723 . . .	14
1698 . . .	29	1724 . . .	24
1699 . . .	22	1725 . . .	13
1700 . . .	18	1726 . . .	16
		1727 . . .	18
1701 . . .	23	1728 . . .	21
1702 . . .	22	1729 . . .	20
1703 . . .	17	1730 . . .	17
1704 . . .	16		
1705 . . .	13	1731 . . .	17
1706 . . .	10	1732 . . .	12
1707 . . .	27	1733 . . .	17
		1734 . . .	19

1735 . . .	16	1763 . . .	20
1736 . . .	11	1764 . . .	10
1737 . . .	21	1765 . . .	12
1738 . . .	20	1766 . . .	8
1739 . . .	21	1767 . . .	15
1740 . . .	15	1768 . . .	19
1741 . . .	15	1769 . . .	23
1742 . . .	18	1770 . . .	9
1743 . . .	9	1771 . . .	17
1744 . . .	10	1772 . . .	9
1745 . . .	13	1773 . . .	24
1746 . . .	9	1774 . . .	27
1747 . . .	15	1775 . . .	13
1748 . . .	11	1776 . . .	23
1749 . . .	9	1777 . . .	20
1750 . . .	15	1778 . . .	14
1751 . . .	13	1779 . . .	14
1752 . . .	17	1780 . . .	10
1753 . . .	22	1781 . . .	13
1754 . . .	14	1782 . . .	11
1755 . . .	8	1783 . . .	16
1756 . . .	13	1784 . . .	12
1757 . . .	13	1785 . . .	8
1758 . . .	13	1786 . . .	15
1759 . . .	12	1787 . . .	13
1760 . . .	15	1788 . . .	20
1761 . . .	14	1789 . . .	10
1762 . . .	15	1790 . . .	20

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1791 . . .	14	1818 . . .	29
1792 . . .	16	1819 . . .	34
1793 . . .	14	1820 . . .	37
1794 . . .	16		
1795 . . .	19	1821 . . .	33
1796 . . .	18	1822 . . .	37
1797 . . .	18	1823 . . .	42
1798 . . .	18	1824 . . .	41
1799 . . .	9	1825 . . .	29
1800 . . .	22	1826 . . .	26
		1827 . . .	27
1801 . . .	19	1828 . . .	19
1802 . . .	28	1829 . . .	22
1803 . . .	17	1830 . . .	32
1804 . . .	25		
1805 . . .	27	1831 . . .	22
1806 . . .	24	1832 . . .	36
1807 . . .	27	1833 . . .	40
1808 . . .	26	1834 . . .	21
1809 . . .	26	1835 . . .	20
1810 . . .	34	1836 . . .	34
		1837 . . .	36
1811 . . .	24	1838 . . .	25
1812 . . .	29	1839 . . .	33
1813 . . .	28	1840 . . .	33
1814 . . .	39		
1815 . . .	41	1841 . . .	35
1816 . . .	34	1842 . . .	27
1817 . . .	35	1843 . . .	24

1844 . . .	29	1871 . . .	35
1845 . . .	33	1872 . . .	36
1846 . . .	32	1873 . . .	32
1847 . . .	25	1874 . . .	43
1848 . . .	27	1875 . . .	36
1849 . . .	28	1876 . . .	38
1850 . . .	22	1877 . . .	33
		1878 . . .	34
1851 . . .	24	1879 . . .	35
1852 . . .	26	1880 . . .	34
1853 . . .	37		
1854 . . .	27	1881 . . .	41
1855 . . .	17	1882 . . .	30
1856 . . .	20	1883 . . .	36
1857 . . .	30	1884 . . .	36
1858 . . .	20	1885 . . .	35
1859 . . .	30	1886 . . .	34
1860 . . .	31	1887 . . .	25
		1888 . . .	34
1861 . . .	29	1889 . . .	37
1862 . . .	28	1890 . . .	36
1863 . . .	27		
1864 . . .	28	1891 . . .	34
1865 . . .	28	1892 . . .	32
1866 . . .	28	1893 . . .	23
1867 . . .	29	1894 . . .	34
1868 . . .	37	1895 . . .	32
1869 . . .	31	1896 . . .	36
1870 . . .	37	1897 . . .	34

APPENDIX H

PRINCIPAL BENEFACTIONS

Bishop WILLIAM SMYTH, the founder, gave Basset's Fee in Oxford, and the property of the suppressed Priory of Cold Norton. The priory was apparently purchased from the Crown by the Convent of St. Stephen's, Westminster, which made a good bargain by selling it at a profit to the Bishop of Lincoln, who in turn presented it to the College. The property seems to have given the College a good deal of trouble in the Chancery courts.

Sir RICHARD SUTTON gave lands in Leicestershire; the *White Hart* in the Strand, London; and lands in Cropredy, North Ockington, Garsington and Cowley.

ELIZABETH MORLEY, of Westminster, widow, in 1515 gave the manor of Pinchpole or Pinchpoll in Chipping Faringdon, as well as other lands in the same neighbourhood, to "provide a Priest, who is to be a Fellow, to preach in person or by deputy once a year at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and there expressly to name Elizabeth Morley." If this service was neglected

a fine of 20*s.* was due to the Warden and Fellows of New College.

JOHN PORT, Serjeant at law, in behalf of JOHN WILLIAMSON, Rector of St. George's in Canterbury, in 1522 gave £200 to purchase lands of the yearly value of £9 for the maintenance of two fellows.

JOHN ELTON or BAKER, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, gave lands in Stanlake and Ducklington in Oxfordshire, and at Kennington in Gloucestershire.

JOYCE FRANKLAND, of London, widow, in 1586, gave the *Red Lion* in Kensington, "certain marsh ground known by the name of Mesday in the County of Kent," and considerable sums of money, which were laid out in the purchase of land at Water-eaton in Berkshire.

JOHN CLAYMOND, President of Corpus Christi College, in 1538 left £480 to purchase lands, as well as certain rents chargeable on properties in Cheshire. The money was to go to establish six scholarships to be called by his name.

Sir JOHN PORT, Knight, in 1560 bequeathed £200 to found readerships in philosophy and history.

JOHN LORD MORDAUNT, in 1571 gave by will the Manor of Tiptofts and Highams in Essex and other lands to maintain three scholars, to be called Mordaunt's Scholars.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, in 1572 and 1579, founded Middleton School in Lancashire, connected it with the College by scholarships, and presented the manor of Upberry,

the Rectory of Gillingham, and the Chapel of Lidsing.

RICHARD HARPER in 1572 left certain lands in Derby to found a Greek lectureship.

SAMUEL RADCLIFFE, Principal of the College, in 1648 left £1000 for building the Chapel and £600 for the Cloisters.

SARAH DUCHESS OF SOMERSET in 1679 gave Somerset Iver and Somerset Thornhill Scholarships, and alternate presentation to Wootton Rivers.

THOMAS YATE in 1680 left lands and money to endow three scholarships.

WILLIAM HULME in 1691 left land producing £40 a year for four exhibitions from Lancashire to Brasenose. The property, which lay in the Hulme district of Manchester, has now become very valuable and provides, besides High Schools in Manchester and a Hulme Hall connected with the Victoria University, eight Senior and twelve Junior Exhibitions, of the value of £130 and £80 respectively.

Sir FRANCIS BRIDGEMAN in 1701 left money for an annual composition, originally in praise of James the Second, but now given for any essay in history or philosophy.

WILLIAM GRIMBALDSON, M.D., in 1725 left £1000 to buy books for the Library.

The three Misses COLQUITT of Green Bank in Lancashire in 1842 founded three Colquitt Exhibitions "to assist in the education for the Ministry in the

Church of England of the sons of indigent or deceased clergymen or of such laymen as cannot unaided support the expense of a College Education."

In 1875 an open Classical Scholarship of the value of £100 yearly was founded by Mrs. JANE ROBINSON in memory of her brother, the Rev. John Watson, M.A., sometime Fellow of the College.

APPENDIX I

GRACES BEFORE AND AFTER MEALS

Ante Prandium.

Oculi omnium spectant in te, Domine! Tu das illas escas tempore opportuno. Aperis manum tuam et imples omne animal tua benedictione. Mensæ cœlestis nos participes facias, Deus, rex æternæ gloriæ.

Post Prandium.

Qui nos creavit, redemit, et pavit, sit benedictus in æternum. Deus, exaudi orationem nostram. Agimus tibi gratias, Pater Cœlestis, pro Guilielmo Smith Episcopo, et Richardo Sutton Milite, Fundatoribus nostris; pro Alexandro Nowell et Jocosa Frankland; aliisque Benefactoribus nostris; humiliter te precantes ut eorum numerum benignissime adaugeas. Ecclesiam Catholicam, et populum Christianum custodi. Hæreses et errores omnes extirpa. Victoriam Reginam nostram et subditos ejus defende. Pacem da et conserva per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Ante Cœnam.

Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus, sine quo nihil est dulce, nihil odoriferum, misericordiam tuam humiliter imploramus, ut nos cœnamque nostram benedicas; ut corda nostra exhilaras; ut quæ suscepturi sumus alimenta, tuo honori, tuæque beneficentiæ accepta referamus; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Post Cœnam.

Quod corpora nostra, Deus optime maxime, cibo potuque abunde refecisti, agimus tibi gratias, quantas possumus maximas; simulque precamur, ut animas nostras Verbo et Spiritu deinde pascas; ut omnia mala fugiamus; ut quæ sint tibi placitura perfecte intelligamus, diligenter meditemur, et ad ea præstanda toto impetu feramur; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

APPENDIX J

A LETTER FROM JOHN CLAYTON OF BRASENOSE TO JOHN WESLEY, AUGUST 1, 1732*

“Bocardo, I fear, grows worse upon my hands ; they have done nothing but quarrel ever since you left us ; and they carried matters so high on Saturday that the bailiffs were sent for, who ordered Tomlyns to be fettered and put in the dungeon, where he lay some hours and then, upon promise of his good behaviour, was released again.

“The Castle is, I thank God, in much better condition. All the felons were acquitted except Salmon, who is referred to be tried at Warwick ; and the sheep-stealer who is burnt in the hand, and who, I verily believe, is a great penitent. Jempro is discharged, and I have appointed Harris to read to the prisoners in his stead. Two of the felons likewise have paid their fees and are gone out, both of them able to read mighty well. There are only two in the gaol who want the accomplishment—John Clanville, who reads but moder-

* This letter is valuable as showing that an interest in the new Methodism existed in the Jacobite and Tory College.

ately, and the horse-stealer, who cannot read at all. He knows all his letters, however, and can spell most of the common monosyllables. I have them both read three times a week ; and, I believe, Salmon hears them so many times a day.

“One of my college scholars has left me, but the others go on mighty well. The woman, who was a perfect novice, spells tolerably ; and so does one of the boys ; and the others make shift to read with spelling every word that is longer than ordinary. The boys can both say their Catechism as far as the end of the Commandments ; and can likewise repeat the morning and evening prayer for children in Ken’s Manual.

“Mrs. Tireby has been very ill this last week, so that she has made no great proficiency. I am to go down at six o’clock to hear the determination of a meeting of St. Thomas’ parish respecting separating Bossum and his wife. When I had promised to give a crown towards clothing the woman, and the overseer had determined to take her in upon that condition, the churchwarden would needs have him try to foist the man upon me too, to get a crown towards clothing him ; but, as he is able to work for his living, I don’t think him a proper object for charity ; nor can I at this time afford to do anything for him, because I am apprehensive that I must be forced to contribute to Salmon’s relief, who will want near twenty shillings to subpœna proper witnesses to Warwick at his trial ; and I cannot but think it a much greater act of charity to

relieve a suffering innocent than to relieve an idle beggar.

“I have been twice at the school, namely, on Tuesday and Saturday last, and intend to go again as soon as I have finished this letter. The children all go on pretty well except Jervaise’s boy, who, I found, truants till eleven o’clock in a morning. I threatened the boy what we would do to him if ever he truanted any more, and he has promised (as all children do) that he will do so no more; nay, his mother assures me that she will take care for the future that he shall not. I got a shilling for her from our Vice-Principal, and gave her sixpence myself to prevent the gown that is in pawn from being sold; and the woman who has it promised not to sell it, provided Jervaise will bring her sixpence a week towards redeeming it.

“I have obtained leave to go to St. Thomas’ workhouse twice a week. I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction, for there is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don’t understand one word of what they read. Pray don’t forget a few Common Prayer-books for the Castle.”

APPENDIX K

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF RICHARD DOD BAKER
WHO MATRICULATED AT BRASENOSE IN 1801*

I.

OXFORD, *Octb.* 14, 1801. 7 o'clock.

MY DEAR COUSINS,

I should not feel perfectly content without addressing a few lines to you just to inform you how I am fixed in this seat of Learning. I took possession of my rooms† on Saturday, and I assure you they are much more comfortable than I expected—my sitting-room is as large as your little parlour and to appearance much more comfortable—a bureau, 5 chairs and a table in it. My drawing-room (for so I please to call it) is smaller, but neater, a glass door out of my sitting-room to it with two chairs and 2 tables. My bedroom is a little larger than sitting-room with a very comfortable bed, bureau, etc., all together, as if it were our three

* I have printed these letters because they seem to give a sort of picture of Oxford life at a transition period.

† The only rooms which suit the description are those on the Library staircase, at present occupied by the Vice-Principal.

parlours at Highfields, but a door to each out of my S.R. I have been this morning with some of the Tutors to buy myself a set of tea-things, Candlesticks, silver tea spoons, sheets, towels, etc., and though Oxford is the most improving place in the world it could not I think cheat us enough in our small articles. Figure to yourself a venerable elderly man and myself with our caps and gowns choosing and buying the best China, good judges, I'm sure I could not tell China from common ware. . . . Oxford is at this time extremely dull, the young men not coming up till the 17th, there are but 13 of us here, on Sunday we shall be quite full. . . . We all dine together in the Common Hall with servants to wait, and you order what you like. Supper at 9. Prayers 7 morning, 5 evening.

II.

OXFORD, *Dec.* 10, 1801.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

Though I received yours on 26th Nov. I hope you will not attribute my not having written before to any neglect; for I have been so very busy with one thing and another that I have scarcely had time to wonder what I am about, but for a short time the storm will subside as the term ended this morning. . . . I daresay little as you know of this seat of learning you have heard that our examinations for degrees have always hitherto been laughed at as trifling and a mere

matter of form, but now they have assumed a very serious aspect, and as your Cousin is to take one you will not deem the following short account of the end Examination I have to undergo at all improper. There is now a large room fitted up for the purpose which will contain I should imagine 300 persons, there are benches for the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Drs., Heads of Colleges and Halls, etc., who are all required to attend at this most solemn occasion and about 200 auditors. There are perhaps six examined at a time and this occupies from 9 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon ; so that whoever thinks of taking a degree must fag. I have formed a very respectable and agreeable acquaintance, but it was long before I thought I should form any, and nothing is so dull and melancholy as having no one to speak to me, as was my case for a fortnight or more.

III.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE.

No date.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

. . . . After a very pleasant journey we arrived at this celebrated seat of learning on Thursday last and although the College rules do not want our attendance till 17th I found everything very comfortable, On Friday my father introduced me to a Mrs. Smith—a lady of considerable property in the neighbourhood. Such an acquaintance will be very pleasant

at least very different from the noisy riot of a College evg., without Company of some sort Oxford I do assure you would be quite intolerable, and the man who pens himself up in his attic poring everlastingly over his book can be compared to nothing better than an "Owl in a Desart." Study however affords many an hour's rational amusement, but like everything else there may be too much of it; for my own part I think 6 hours in the day quite sufficient, much time therefore must be devoted to other objects and it should be our own care to spend it in the best manner.



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